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CHARLES E. BENNETT AND JOHN C. ROLFE

GAI SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBRI III–VI

TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, NERO

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

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To H. L. P.

PREFACE.

The *Lives of the Caesars* contained in this collection are of great interest to the student of Roman history, since they treat of the period covered by the *Annals* of Tacitus, by which they are so admirably illustrated and the gaps of which they serve to bridge. The *Lives* are, too, in special need of elucidation, partly because of their author's disregard of chronological sequence and partly because of their extreme conciseness. The Notes of this edition, therefore, have been made rather full, with a view to confirm, refute, or further illustrate the statements of Suetonius by citations from other authors, especially from Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and the latter's abridger, Xiphilin.

No commentary on the Lives of this edition has, so far as I am aware, been published in any modern language. The old commentators, and the Baumgarten-Crusius-Hase edition in particular, have been of assistance in preparing the Notes; but of necessity, in an edition of this kind, much of the work has been done independently. The text adopted is that of Roth (1857), with modifications.

I wish to express my great indebtedness to Professor Charles E. Bennett and Professor John C. Rolfe for their many valuable suggestions. I also appreciate the assistance given me by my colleague, Dr. John E. Granrud, who read critically the proof of the commentary.

JOSEPH B. PIKE.

Minneapolis, Minnesota,
April, 1903.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

LIFE OF SUETONIUS.

LIKE most of the writers of the Silver Age, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus is exceedingly reticent as to his early life. He states, however, that his father, Suetonius Laetus,[1] a military tribune, took part in the battle of Bedriacum,[2] which was fought in the year 69 A.D. To this meagre information with regard to his family, Suetonius' contemporaries add nothing. Not even the place of his birth is mentioned. Vossius, a Dutch scholar of the seventeenth century, suggests[3] that he was a native of cisalpine Gaul, but adduces nothing more convincing to support this theory than the fact that Suetonius' friend, Pliny the Younger, was a native of that region. The year of his birth, while quite uncertain, cannot be assigned to a later date than 75 A.D., as may be inferred from a passage cited later, in which he speaks of a pseudo-Nero at the court of Vologesus.

Family and birth

A few personal references relating to the period of his youth are found in his writings. For example, in his life of Caligula, after stating the generally accepted theory that the emperor had built his bridge

Early life

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[1] Some editors read *Levis*.

[2] *Otho* 10, *interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius.*

[3] *De Hist.* I. 31.

at Baiae to rival a similar structure of Xerxes over the Hellespont, he goes on to say that, when a boy, he had heard his grandfather give a different explanation.[1] In a passage of the *De Grammaticis*[2] he states that he recalls from the period of his youth the system of declamation and disputation employed by the rhetorician Princeps. Suetonius probably spent his early years at Rome, for, in speaking of the cruelty of Domitian, he remarks that he himself, when a youth, was present (*i.e.* in Rome) on one occasion, when an investigation was being made to determine whether a certain aged man was a Jew.[3] Another personal reference is met with in the statement that during his youth, twenty years after the death of Nero (*i.e.* after the year 88 and before the death of Vologesus in 91), a pseudo-Nero had great influence at the court of the Parthians.[4]

Pliny and Suetonius

The letters of Pliny the Younger throw some light upon the life of Suetonius between the years 96 and 112 or thereabout. The first nine books of these letters were written after the death of Domitian, and before Pliny was appointed governor of Bithynia and Pontus. The tenth contains the official correspondence that passed between Trajan and Pliny, his representative, chiefly in regard to the administration of the province. The earliest of these letters addressed to Suetonius shows that the latter was about twenty-six years of age at the time, while the latest attests that he was not far from forty.

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1 See *Calig.* 19.

2 Chap. 4, *me quidem adulescentulo, repeto quendam Principem nomine alternis diebus declamare, alternis disputare, nonnullis vero mane disserere, post meridiem remoto pulpito declamare solitum.*

3 *Domit.* 12, *interfuisse me adulescentulum memini, cum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex an circumsectus esset.*

4 See *Nero*, 57.

In these letters Pliny shows that he held the character of his friend in high esteem, and that he was solicitous for his welfare. It was through Pliny's influence that the office of military tribune was offered to Suetonius. This office, since he did not care to accept it, he had transferred to a friend — again through the kindness of Pliny.[1] Pliny also interceded in behalf of Suetonius with reference to the purchase of a piece of property,[2] and goes so far as to style him "*contubernalis meus.*" When Suetonius was about to plead a case, and was much perturbed in consequence of a dream, it was Pliny who consoled and calmed him, and even promised to secure a postponement of the trial.[3] It was Pliny, too, who encouraged him to put the finishing touches to some of his writings and publish them.[4] Finally, in soliciting from the Emperor Trajan the benefits of the *ius trium liberorum* for Suetonius, he remarked that the longer he knew him the more highly he prized him.[5] All this from a man of Pliny's refinement and judgment argues for the good qualities of Suetonius.

Suetonius as a student

Though Suetonius was a lawyer, and filled some public posts during his life, yet he seemed by nature suited to more tranquil paths. He was in truth, as Pliny says, a *scholasticus*.[6] At Pliny's death, a dear friend of Pliny's, Gaius Septicius Clarus,[7] became Suetonius' patron. To this Septicius he dedicated his eight books on the lives of the Caesars, and it was through Septicius' influence that he was appointed secretary to Hadrian. At first upon friendly terms with the emperor,[8] he, as well as Septicius and others, afterward lost favor. Spartianus[9]

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[1] *Ep.* III. 8. [2] *Ep.* I. 24. [3] *Ep.* I. 18.
[4] *Ep.* V. 10. [5] *Ep.* X. 94, 95. [6] *Ep.* I. 24.
[7] Pliny speaks of this man in high terms, *Ep.* II. 9, 4.
[8] *Aug.* 7.
[9] Spart. *Hadrian* 11, 3, *Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud*

states that the reason for the dismissal was that these men had not conducted themselves toward the empress according to the strict rules of etiquette demanded by Hadrian.

Suetonius must have been about fifty years old at the time of his dismissal from the court of Hadrian. The rest of his life was devoted to the peaceful pursuit of literature. The last contemporary mention of him is made by M. Fronto in a letter to M. Aurelius, probably written during the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Later life

Suetonius was almost the only author in the reign of Hadrian who produced anything of importance. The chief work of his which has been preserved, and by which he is to be judged, is his *Lives of the Caesars*. Suetonius apparently used good authority for almost all that he wrote. He drew little from Tacitus, and never mentions him. Pliny, no doubt, supplied him with some material for his later *Lives*, but he, too, is passed over in silence. There is nothing to show that Suetonius used Velleius Paterculus or Plutarch. He drew largely from official documents and from the private correspondence of the emperors. He was, however, somewhat too prone to accept the stories and gossip that were current with regard to the imperial court.

Lives of the twelve Caesars

Suetonius is not an historian, for he neglects even the great public happenings of the times, except in so far as they relate to the Caesars as individuals. He is hardly a biographer in the strict sense of the term, as an analysis of the *Lives* will show. They are all written after one general pattern. He gives first an account of the parentage and early life of each

Limitations and value

Sabinam uxorem in usu eius familiarius se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit.

mperor; he then divides the reign into certain sections,[1] reating separately the good and bad traits[2] of his subject, ut leaving no clear conception of the character as a whole. 'he account of the death is preceded or followed by a tatement of the omens that presaged it. He pays no attenion to chronological sequence in his narration, and displays ut little historical insight. He is a painstaking compiler f data, and as such is valuable from the historical point of iew. No other author has related so many interesting acts concerning the court life of the early empire of Rome. 3oth Tacitus and Suetonius seem to be trustworthy in espect to the facts they state, but here the likeness ends. Suetonius attempts no philosophical discussion f character; he merely enumerates the vices nd virtues of his subject, without drawing onclusions. There is no analysis of motives or emotions. Vhile Tacitus is a violent partisan, Suetonius dispassiontely states facts without discussing them. He draws the ortraits of his Caesars as men rather than as rulers. He ossesses but little dramatic instinct, and what he does ossess is displayed in narration[3] rather than in the presntation of character.

Tacitus and Suetonius compared

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[1] *Aug.* 9, *proposita vitae eius velut summa, partes singillatim neque er tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari ognoscique possint.*

[2] *Nero*, 19, *haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non medicri laude digna in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus ius de quibus dehinc dicam; Calig.* 22, *hactenus quasi de principe; eliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt.*

[3] The best example of his power in this respect is seen in Chapters 8 and 49 of the *Life of Nero.*

II.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE.[1]

Suetonius of necessity reflects the literary tendencies of his time; yet his style is less typical of the Silver Age than that of any other writer of the period. His use of Greek words and poetical phrases and constructions seems to be due to the influence of the age rather than to his personal inclination. He aims at clearness, simplicity, and brevity, though on occasions condensation is attained at the expense of clearness. The brevity of Suetonius' diction is not epigrammatic, nor employed with evident artistic purpose. It is the brevity of economy, which aims to express the thought in the simplest and fewest words. Neglect of concinnity and parallelism of construction, while not carried to excess as in Tacitus, are peculiarities of Suetonius' style. The sentences are comparatively short, and there is an entire absence of the periodic structure. As would be expected from these traits, his prose is not harmonious. In fact, he seems to be utterly lacking in a feeling for rhythm. He does not strive for effect, and his diction is singularly free from rhetorical ornamentation. He keeps himself entirely out of his works, with the result that his style is somewhat colorless. Its very simplicity, however, gives an element of strength and vigor. The following are the most noticeable linguistic characteristics:

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[1] For further information the following works may be consulted: P. Bagge, *de elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, Upsala, 1875; R. Dupow, *de Suetonii Tranquilli consuetudine quaestiones*, Jena, 1895; H. R. Thimm, *de usu atque elocutione C. Suetoni Tranquilli*, Königsberg, 1867; Freunde, *de C. Suetoni Tranquilli usu atque genere dicendi*, Berlin, 1900.

§ 1. Vocabulary.

a. Suetonius uses many words from the Greek. He also exhibits many unusual and technical words.

(1) chlamys, 'a mantle,' *Tib.* 6; megistanum, 'grandees,' *Calig.* 5; chrysocolla, 'green,' *Calig.* 18; asticos, 'celebrated in the city,' *i.e.* 'games,' *Calig.* 20; automatum, 'self-acting machine,' *Claud.* 34; catadromum, 'a tight rope stretched on an incline,' *Nero*, 11; ephe-borum, 'youths,' *Nero*, 12; buthysiae, 'a sacrifice of oxen,' *Nero*, 12; pyxidem, 'a small box,' *Nero*, 12; citharoedum, 'one who plays on the cithara, accompanying it with the voice,' *Nero*, 20; hypocrita, 'an actor who accompanies the dialogue with gesticulation,' *Nero*, 24; hieronicarum, 'victors in the sacred games,' *Nero*, 24; phonasco, 'an instructor in voice culture,' *Nero*, 25; naumachiam, 'a mock sea-fight,' *Claud.* 21; epinicia, 'songs of victory,' *Nero*, 43; agona, 'a contest,' *Nero*, 45; synthesinam, *sc.* vestem, 'a dressing-gown,' *Nero*, 51; brabeutarum, 'those who preside at the public games,' *Nero*, 53.

(2) amanuensibus, 'secretaries,' *Nero*, 44; exstipicio, 'an inspection of the vitals of victims,' *Nero*, 56; cycladatus, 'clothed in the cyclas, or women's state robe,' *Calig.* 52; imagunculam, 'a small image,' *Nero*, 56; machinosum, 'skilfully constructed,' *Nero*, 34; resalutatione, 'a greeting in return,' *Nero*, 37; sericatus, 'dressed in silks,' *Calig.* 52; solutilem, 'that would fall apart,' applied to a ship, *Nero*, 34; super-iumentarium, 'an overseer of teamsters,' *Claud.* 2; verbenatum, 'crowned with a sacred wreath,' *Calig.* 27.

b. Suetonius shows a remarkable fondness for adverbs in -im:

raptim, *Tib.* 6, *Nero*, 41; confestim, *Tib.* 7, 13, 24, *Calig.* 12, 15, 58, *Claud.* 1, 37; iunctim, *Tib.* 8; sensim, *Tib.* 11, 44; statim, *Tib.* 11, 40, 44, 48, 52, 61, 72, *Calig.* 14, 27, *Claud.* 1, 15, 33, 37, *Nero*, 20, 40, 48; praesertim, *Tib.* 21, *Calig.* 8; paulatim, *Tib.* 53, *Calig.* 3, *Nero*, 27; iuxtim, *Tib.* 33; singillatim, *Tib.* 42, 61, *Claud.* 29, *Nero*, 5; interim, *Tib.* 63, 73, *Claud.* 6; separatim, *Tib.* 76; passim, *Calig.* *Nero*, 25; nominatim, *Claud.* 6; vicissim, *Claud.* 10; *Nero*, 1; ritim, *Nero*, 10; furtim, *Nero*, 23.

This fondness is more apparent in other portions of Sue-

tonius' writings than in the *Lives* of this edition. The following occur:

caesim, carptim, circulatim, dispersim, domesticatim, generatim, gregatim, mixtim, municipatim, provinciatim, regionatim, subsultim, summatim, ubertim, vicatim.

c. Diminutives are freely used:

amiculae, *Calig.* 33; cenulam, *Claud.* 21; corbulae, *Nero*, 19; cultellos, *Claud.* 34; filiola, *Tib.* 53; imaguncula, *Nero*, 56; modulum, *Nero*, 49; offula, *Claud.* 40; palmularum, *Claud.* 8; porcello, *Nero*, 33; rastello, *Nero*, 19; regulos, *Calig.* 5; sportulam, *Claud.* 21; tirunculum, *Nero*, 21; trimulus, *Nero*, 6.

d. As in Tacitus, so in Suetonius we find a fondness for abstract expressions:

omnisque amicitias et familiaritates intra breve tempus afflixit (where *amicitias et familiaritates* is equivalent to *amicos et familiares*, 'friends and intimates'), *Tib.* 51; *Italiam per clientelas occupare* (where *per clientelas* is equivalent to *per clientes*, 'by the instrumentality of his clients), *Tib.* 2; *confectores ferarum et varia harenae ministeria* (*ministeria* equivalent to *ministros*, 'various participants in the gladiatorial games'), *Nero*, 12; *viciniae silentium indicere* (*viciniae* equivalent to *vicinis*, 'order the neighbors to be silent'), *Calig.* 55.

e. Adjectives are freely used as nouns:

aureos (*sc. nummos*), 'gold pieces,' *Claud.* 5; diribitorio (*sc. aedificio*), 'building whence distributions were made,' *Claud.* 18; ducentesima (*sc. pars*), 'two hundredth part,' *Calig.* 16; natali (*sc. die*), 'birthday,' *Calig.* 26.

§ 2. Cases.

a. (1) In common with other prose writers of the Silver Age, Suetonius constantly uses the ablative instead of the accusative to denote extent of time:

vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo, *Calig.* 59.

(2) The ablative is freely used without the preposition *in*, n words that convey a distinctly locative idea:

media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit, *Calig.* 27.

b. The Greek accusative and the accusative object of a assive participle used as a middle are more frequently net with than in earlier writers:

depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas, *Calig.* 52; *hirsutus cetera*, as for the rest with heavy growth of hair,' *Calig.* 50; *illud horae*, 'at hat time,' *Nero*, 26.

c. (1) The dative of agent with other forms than the erundive, though common, is not found as often as in acitus:

quae iam nunc sibi componi oporteret, 'which he should already be omposing,' *Nero*, 43.

(2) The dative of purpose in the gerundive construction s very common:

ligna conferri curando mox cadaveri, *Nero*, 49; *deligendi vehicula ortandis scaenicis organis*, *Nero*, 44.

d. The following uses of the genitive deserve notice:

commeatus a senatu peti solitos beneficii sui fecit, 'were granted at is hand' (predicate), *Claud.* 23; *scyphos gratissimi usus*, 'favorite oblets' (quality), *Nero*, 47; *fascias purpurae ac conchylii*, 'fillets of urple' (genitive for adjective), *Calig.* 17; *patronum perferendae gationis*, *Claud.* 6 (an extension of the defining genitive where we ight expect the preposition *causa* instead of the simple genitive). his construction is also much affected by Tacitus.

§ 3. The Verb.

a. Tense.

(1) The historical present is very rare as compared with he frequency with which it occurs in other writers.

(2) In no other writer is the perfect subjunctive more freely used for the imperfect:

prosecutus est ut custoditum sit, Tib. 7; *adulationes adeo aversatus est ut neminem . . . admiserit, Tib.* 27.

(3) The present subjunctive in indirect discourse is often used where we should expect the imperfect (*repraesentatio*):

se prolaturum affirmavit si liceat, Nero, 41; *nihil habere se vociferatus est quare eos demereatur, Claud.* 40.

(4) Bolder still is the union of the imperfect and perfect subjunctive in correlative constructions:

obtrectavit ut . . . elevarit et increparet, Tib. 52; *cf. experiebatur quae fuisset . . . quid sint solitae, Tib.* 70.

b. Mode.

(1) The imperfect subjunctive is used with *priusquam, antequam, pridiequam,* in constructions where the earlier writers would have used the perfect indicative:

ante paucos quam obiret menses, Calig. 8; *pridiequam periret, Calig.* 57.

(2) The subjunctive is once used with *iubere*:

lectis codicillis quibus ut id faceret iubebatur, Tib. 22.

(3) Suetonius is fond of the iterative subjunctive in temporal and conditional clauses:

quotiensque introiret, Calig. 7; *quotiens exoscularetur, Calig.* 33; *promptus utique si perorandum in aliquem esset, Calig.* 53.

(4) As in Tacitus, the subjunctive is used in clauses introduced by *tamquam* and *quasi* to express the ground of action, without necessarily implying any suggestion of unreality:

quasi fatale esset, Nero, 43; *tamquam parum esset non oboedire, Calig.* 29.

(5) The subjunctive is used with *quamquam*:

quamquam saepius revocaretur, Tib. 16;

also with *quamvis* to introduce a statement of fact:

quamvis minimum fortunae casibusque permitteret, Tib. 19.

(6) The subjunctive without *ut* is frequent after verbs of commanding and exhorting:

monuit . . . durarent, Calig. 45; *scripsit . . . apparerent, Calig.* 47; *denuntiavit abiret, Calig.* 55.

c. Constructio ad sensum is of frequent occurrence:

magna pars rutila barba fuerunt, Nero, 1; *ditissimus quisque comparabant, Calig.* 22.

§ 4. Participles, Infinitives, Gerund, and Gerundive.

a. (1) The future participle is freely used to express purpose; also with temporal or conditional force:

Capitoliumque occupaverant, asserturi communen libertatem (purpose), *Claud.* 1[illegible] *traiecturus Rhenum* (temporal), *Tib.* 18; *ut monopolium nominaturus veniam prius postularet* (conditional), *Tib.* 71.

(2) Perfect passive participles used as adjectives are freely compared:

contemptior, Tib. 13; *impensissimis, Tib.* 13.

(3) Suetonius shows a great fondness for participial constructions, which he employs for the sake of brevity:

successores percussoresque summittere exercitus et provinciis regentibus, quasi conspiratis idemque et unum sentientibus, Nero, 43.

b. (1) The object infinitive, either with or without subject accusative, is freely used in constructions not allowed or but seldom employed by the writers of classical prose, *e.g.* with the following words:

aggressus, Claud. 41; *contentus, Tib.* 2[illegible] *flagitavit, Claud.* 15; *oraret, Nero,* 47; *permisit, Calig.* 16; *non dubitans, Claud.* 35;

imperavit, *Tib.* 57; *cum magni aestimaret*, *Nero*, 21; *non defuit animus*, *Calig.* 56, and many others.

(2) The historical infinitive seems not to have been used.

c. (1) The accusative of the gerund and gerundive is used after *inter* and *ob*, a rare usage:

inter canendum, *Nero*, 32.

(2) For the genitive and dative of the gerundive see under "Cases."

§ 5. Prepositions.

Among the most characteristic uses of prepositions, the following may be noted:

(1) *Ab:* equivalent to *post:*

a somno, 'after sleep,' *Tib.* 68;

to signify the office or duty:

Epaphrodito a libellis, 'Epaphroditus, master of petitions,' *Nero*, 49; *cf. Jul.* 74, *servus a manu*, 'a secretary'; *Tib.* 42, *a voluptatibus.*

Ad:

exhibuit ad ferrum, 'had them fight,' *Nero*, 12.

Apud: equivalent to locative case or *in* with ablative:

apud insulam Capreas, *Aug.* 92; *apud Neapolim*, *Tib.* 6;

or to *ad:*

apud Philippos, *Tib.* 14.

These are archaisms revived in Silver Latin.

Circa: in temporal sense:

circa initia imperii, 'at the beginning of his reign,' *Claud.* 7;

with the meaning of *de:*

circa successorem omnia ordinare, 'with reference to his successor,' *Claud.* 45.

Citra: equivalent to *sine*, as in Tacitus:

citra bellum, 'without war,' *Claud.* 35.

De: the preposition *de*, contrary to ordinary usage, is employed with the verb *paenitere:*

paenitentis de matrimonio Agrippinae, Claud. 43.

In: equivalent to *ad:*

usque in Idus, Calig. 17; *in memoriam patris, Calig.* 15.

Inter:

inter haec, 'meanwhile,' *Calig.* 45; *inter moras*, 'after some delay,' *Nero*, 49.

Prae: equivalent to *propter:*

prae turba occurentium, 'because of the crowd,' *Calig.* 4.

Procul: as a preposition, equivalent to *sine:*

procul dubio, Nero, 3.

(2) Prepositional phrases are freely used as attributive modifiers of nouns:

mirmillonem e ludo, 'a mirmillo of the training school,' *Calig.* 32; *iuris dictionem de fidei commissis*, 'jurisdiction in matters of trust,' *Claud.* 23; *quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret, Tib.* 22.

§ 6. Adverbs and Conjunctions.

a. Quamquam (for *quamvis*) is used with adjectives and participles:

quamquam hoc modo agenti, Claud. 6;

for *quamquam* with subjunctive, see under "Mode."

b. (1) *Priusquam, quamvis, nisi, quasi, tamquam*, and *quamquam* are freely used with the ablative absolute:

quamvis triginta hominum milibus operantibus, Claud. 20; *quamquam abominantibus qui audiebant, Claud.* 46; *non prius palam fecit, quam Agrippa iuvene interempto, Tib.* 22; for *quamvis* in statement of fact, see under "Mode."

(2) They are also used with participles:

Non prius occidit quam offensus odore, Calig. 27.

c. Tamquam and *quasi* are sometimes used, as in Tacitus, introducing a subjunctive clause where the accusative with infinitive might have been expected:

tenetque opinio tamquam et natus ibi sit, Aug. 6; *increbrescente rumore quasi . . . . commoraretur, Tib.* 11.

d. Et with the force of *etiam* is very common.

e. Quo is used to introduce a clause of purpose where no comparison is involved:

quo . . . subduceret, Tib. 22.

f. Donec is used with the subjunctive in a statement of fact.

Viewed as a whole, the Latin of Suetonius is not so closely modelled on the Ciceronian style as that of Quintilian or that of Pliny the Younger, nor does it exhibit such marked peculiarities of the Silver Age as do the diction of Seneca and Tacitus. It does not present many difficulties, and is admirably adapted to the purpose of its author.

III.

THE WORKS OF SUETONIUS.

Some of the works of Suetonius were written in Greek, others in Latin, a practice followed by many of the authors of the time.

With the exception of the *Lives of the Caesars,* but few fragments, considering the bulk of his productions, have come down to us, and considerable doubt exists even in regard to the titles of many of the works.

The first collection of the fragments[1] was made by Isaac

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[1] The standard edition of the fragments is Reifferscheid's, which may be consulted for further information with reference to them.

Casaubon in 1595. Suidas, a Greek lexicographer of the tenth century, is the chief authority as to the order and titles of the works. These are as follows:

1. περὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι παιδιῶν βιβλίον ά, a book of the games in vogue among the Greeks. This was undoubtedly written in Greek, though it may also have been translated by the author into Latin.

2. περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις θεωριῶν καὶ ἀγώνων βιβλία β', an account of Roman spectacles and games, written in Latin, under the title *Historica ludicra.*

3. περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐνιαυτοῦ βιβλίον α', an archaeological investigation into the theory of the Roman year.

4. περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις σημείων ά, on the meaning of rare words.

5. περὶ τῆς Κικέρωνός πολιτείας α', a justification of the conduct of Cicero, written in answer to some of his numerous detractors, especially one Didymus, a conceited Alexandrine.

6. περὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ ἰδέας ἐσθημάτων καὶ ὑποδημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς τις ἀμφιέννυται, a treatise on the different names of shoes, coats, and other articles of dress.

7. περὶ δυσφήμων λέξεων ἤτοι βλασφημιῶν καὶ πόθεν ἑκάστη, an inquiry into the origin and etymology of various terms of abuse employed in conversation and literature, probably written in Greek. The work appears to have been framed under headings designating the objects of censure (ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀκολάστων, ἐπὶ γυναικῶν, εἰς δούλους).

8. περὶ Ῥώμης καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ νομίμων καὶ ἠθῶν βιβλία β', an account of the chief Roman customs. Only a short passage on the triumph has been preserved by Isidore.

9. Συγγενικὸν Καισάρων ιβ', a biography of the twelve Caesars, in eight books, written in Latin under the title *De Vita Caesarum.*

10. Στέμματα Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων, a gallery of illustrious men, written in Latin under the title *De Viris Illustribus.*

11. *περὶ ἐπισήμων πορνῶν*, an account of those courtesans who had become renowned through their wit, beauty, or genius.

12. *De Vitiis Corporalibus*, a list of bodily defects, written possibly to supplement the medical works of Celsus and Scribonius Largus.

13. *De Institutione Officiorum*, a manual of rank as fixed by law, and of social and court etiquette.

14. *De Regibus*, in three books, containing biographies of the most renowned monarchs in each of the three divisions of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

15. *De Rebus Variis*. Of this there are few and insignificant notices.

16. *Prata*, miscellanies, in ten or perhaps twelve books. This was a very popular work, and it is probable, as Reifferscheid supposes, that many of the foregoing treatises were merely portions of the *Prata*, cited under separate names. The *Prata* was extensively used by later writers, especially Isidore, through whom the parts on natural history became well known during the Middle Ages.

Of all these works, there have survived only parts of the *De Viris Illustribus*, and the *Lives of the Caesars*, that is, of Nos. 9 and 10 of the above list. The *De Viris Illustribus* treated of those eminent in literature, and comprised treatises on poets, orators, historians, philosophers, grammarians, and rhetoricians. First came a list of the authors treated, then followed the earlier history of the department in question, and finally the principal representatives were discussed in chronological order. The series of orators began with Cicero; of historians, with Sallust. The lives of Tacitus and Pliny the Younger were not treated, for this work, like the *Lives of the Caesars*, did not extend beyond the time of Domitian.

Of the earlier parts of the work, there are extant excerpts made by Diomedes and Jerome. From the book *De Poetis*, we possess the lives of Terence, Horace, and that of Lucan

in part. The lives of Vergil and Persius are believed to be the work of another hand. From the book *De Historicis,* fragments of the life of Pliny the Elder exist. Of the work *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus,* the greater part, together with the index, is extant. The life of Terence has been preserved entire by Donatus, in the introduction to his commentary on Terence. The life of Horace was preserved in manuscripts of his works, and at an early date was prefixed in somewhat modified form to copies of his poems. The life of Persius is attributed to Valerius Probus.

The work *De Vita Caesarum,* dedicated to C. Septicius Clarus, was published in 120 A.D. This work was divided into eight books, in such a way that the lives of the first six emperors, from Julius to Nero, form one book each; those of the three emperors of the year 69, the seventh; and those of the three Flavians, the eighth. The beginning of the life of Julius is missing.

IV.

MANUSCRIPTS OF SUETONIUS.[1]

But few of the numerous manuscripts of Suetonius found in the various libraries of Europe are of any great value. These manuscripts may be divided on the basis of their origin into four classes, to the first of which belongs the *Codex Memmianus,* the oldest and most valuable, and the *Gudianus.* The second class has as its type the third *Medicean,* and includes the *Codex Vaticanus* of Lipsius. Becker also places the *Berolini,* No. 337, one of the best of the inferior manu-

[1] *Cf.* Roth's preface. For points on textual criticism, consult Becker, *Quaestiones Criticae.* For some of the latest work done in collating manuscripts, see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol. XII, pp. 19–58.

scripts, in this class. The third class is headed by the *Codex Parisinus*, 6116, and the second *Medicean*. Though the manuscripts of this class are badly corrupted, they are the only source confirming some of the readings found in the *Memmian*. The fourth class consists of the manuscripts made during the fifteenth century, which are of comparatively little value.[1]

The Codex Memmianus. — This manuscript is first heard of at Turin, in the thirteenth century. From that place it was carried in the sixteenth century to the library of Henri de Mesmes. Here it was inspected by various scholars, but, as it had as yet no definite title, it was cited under different names, *e.g. Turonensis, Pithoeanus,* and *Memmianus,* thus giving rise to the belief that three separate manuscripts, instead of one, existed. From the possession of the De Mesmes family, it passed into the library of Emmerich Bigot, where it was known as No. 196. In 1706 Bigot's library was purchased by the Royal Library of Paris, now the National Library, where the manuscript still rests, being known as *Codex Memmianus,* No. 6115. The title of the *Lives* is wanting in this, but the first five words, *annum agens sextum decimum patrem,* beginning the life of Julius, are written in red ink with the initial *A* of the word *annum* somewhat higher than the other letters, proving that the loss of the first part of this life antedated the writing of the manuscript. It belongs, as the style of the writing indicates, to the ninth century.

Gudianus 268. — This is the next earliest manuscript, and was written in the eleventh century. Its excellence was not known to Roth, nor did he collate it, supposing it to be later than the *Guelferbytanus* of Wolf, who cited it as *Guelf.* II, whereas in reality it is earlier and more valuable. It

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[1] For a different estimate of these fifteenth century manuscripts, see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XII, pp. 261–264.

approaches most nearly to the readings of the *Memmian*, and is undoubtedly from the same original.

Third Medicean.—This, the best-known manuscript of the second class, is now preserved in the Medicean library of Florence. It is written in two columns, in the style prevalent during the eleventh century. Its excellence is undoubted, for it often approaches the *Memmian* in value, and, either with it or alone, preserves the correct reading for certain words.

Codex Vaticanus Lipsii.—To this same class belongs the *Codex Vaticanus Lipsii*, from which readings were taken by Lipsius in 1574; hence the name. Of this only the first three books, the lives of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Tiberius, are extant. There are in all twelve manuscripts of Suetonius in the Vatican Library.

V.

EDITIONS.

Earliest Editions.—Two editions were printed at Rome in the year 1470, and one at Venice, 1471.

Subsequent Editions.—Philip Beroaldus, 1493 and 1503; Erasmus, 1518; Robert Estienne, 1543; Isaac Casaubon, 1595 and 1610; John August Ernesti, 1748 and 1775; Franz Oudendorp, 1751; Wolf, 1802; Baumgarten-Crusius, 1816; the same with additions by Hase, 1828 (this last is still the standard annotated edition); Roth, 1857; Smilda; Vita Claudii, 1896. With English commentary, there are at the present time two editions: *Suetonius* I–II, H. T. Peck, 1899; and *Augustus*, Shuckburgh, 1896.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER III.

TIBERIUS.

The Claudian Gens

1 Patricia gens Claudia (fuit enim et alia plebeia, nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta est ex Regillis, oppido Sabinorum. Inde Romam recens conditam cum magna clientium manu commigravit, auctore Tito Tatio consorte Romuli, vel, quod magis constat, Atta Claudio gentis principe, post reges exactos sexto fere anno; atque in patricias cooptata, agrum insuper trans Anienem clientibus locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publicė accepit. Deinceps procedente tempore duodetriginta consulatus, dictaturas quinque, censuras septem, triumphos sex, duas ovationes adepta est. Cum praenominibus cognominibusque variis distingueretur, Luci praenomen consensu repudiavit, postquam e duobus gentilibus praeditis eo alter latrocinii, caedis alter convictus est. Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus.

2 Multa multorum Claudiorum egregia merita, multa etiam setius admissa in rem publicam exstant. Sed ut

praecipua commemorem, Appius Caecus societatem cum rege Pyrrho ut parum salubrem iniri dissuasit.

Achievements and misdeeds of its members

Claudius Caudex primus freto classe traiecto Poenos Sicilia expulit. Tib. Nero advenientem ex Hispania cum ingentibus copiis Hasdrubalem, priusquam Annibali fratri coniungeretur, oppressit. Contra Claudius Regillianus, decemvir legibus scribendis, virginem ingenuam per vim libidinis gratia in servitutem asserere conatus, causa plebi fuit secedendi rursus a patribus. Claudius Drusus, statua sibi diademata ad Appi Forum posita, Italiam per clientelas occupare temptavit. Claudius Pulcher apud Siciliam, non pascentibus in auspicando pullis ac per contemptum religionis mari demersis, quasi *ut biberent quando esse nollent,* proelium navale iniit; superatusque, cum dictatorem dicere a senatu iuberetur, velut iterum illudens discrimini publico, Glician viatorem suum dixit.

Exstant et feminarum exempla diversa aeque, siquidem gentis eiusdem utraque Claudia fuit, et quae navem cum sacris Matris deum Idaeae obhaerentem Tiberino vado extraxit, precata propalam, *ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret;* et quae novo more iudicium maiestatis apud populum mulier subiit, quod in conferta multitudine aegre procedente carpento palam optaverat, *ut frater suus Pulcher revivesceret atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romae foret.* Praeterea notatissimum est, Claudios omnis, excepto dumtaxat P. Clodio, qui ob expellendum urbe Ciceronem plebeio homini atque etiam natu minori in adoptionem se dedit, optimates assertoresque unicos dignitatis ac potentiae patriciorum semper fuisse, atque adversus plebem adeo violentos et contumaces, ut

Their haughtiness

ne capitis quidem quisquam reus apud populum mutare vestem aut deprecari sustinuerit; nonnulli in altercatione et iurgio tribunos plebi pulsaverint. Etiam virgo Vestalis fratrem, iniussu populi triumphantem, ascenso simul curru, usque in Capitolium prosecuta est, ne vetare aut intercedere fas cuiquam tribunorum esset.

3 Ex hac stirpe Tiberius Caesar genus trahit, et quidem utrumque: paternum a Tiberio Nerone, maternum ab Appio Pulchro, qui ambo Appi Caeci filii fuerunt. Insertus est et Liviorum familiae, adoptato in eam materno avo. Quae familia, quamquam plebeia, tamen et ipsa admodum floruit, octo consulatibus, censuris duabus, triumphis tribus, dictatura etiam ac magisterio equitum honorata; clara et insignibus viris, ac maxime Salinatore Drusisque. Salinator universas tribus in censura notavit levitatis nomine, quod, cum se post priorem consulatum multa irrogata condemnassent, consulem iterum censoremque fecissent. Drusus, hostium duce Drauso comminus trucidato, sibi posterisque suis cognomen invenit. Traditur etiam pro praetore ex provincia Gallia rettulisse aurum, Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum, nec, ut fama est, extortum a Camillo. Eius abnepos, ob eximiam adversus Gracchos operam patronus senatus dictus, filium reliquit, quem in simili dissensione multa varie molientem diversa factio per fraudem interemit.

Ancestors of Tiberius

4 Pater Tiberi, quaestor C. Caesaris Alexandrino bello classi praepositus, plurimum ad victoriam contulit. Quare et pontifex in locum P. Scipionis substitutus et ad deducendas in Galliam colonias, in quis Narbo et Arelate erant, missus est. Tamen Caesare occiso, cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decer-

His father

nentibus, etiam de praemiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit. Praetura deinde functus, cum exitu anni discordia inter triumviros orta esset, retentis ultra iustum tempus insignibus L. Antonium consulem, triumviri fratrem, ad Perusiam secutus, deditione a ceteris facta, solus permansit in partibus ac primo Praeneste, inde Neopolim evasit, servisque ad pilleum frustra vocatis in Siciliam profugit. Sed indigne ferens, nec statim se in conspectum Sexti Pompei admissum et fascium usu prohibitum, ad M. Antonium traiecit in Achaiam. Cum quo, brevi reconciliata inter omnis pace, Romam redit, uxoremque Liviam Drusillam, et tunc gravidam et ante iam apud se filium enixam, petenti Augusto concessit. Nec multo post diem obiit, utroque liberorum superstite, Tiberio Drusoque Neronibus.

His birth

5 Tiberium quidam Fundis natum existimaverunt, secuti levem coniecturam, quod materna eius avia Fundana fuerit, et quod mox simulacrum Felicitatis ex senatus consulto publicatum ibi sit. Sed ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est Romae in Palatio XVI Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum, L. Munatio Planco conss. per bellum Philippense. Sic enim in fastos actaque in publica relatum est. Nec tamen desunt, qui partim antecedente anno, Hirti ac Pansae, partim insequenti, Servili Isaurici Lucique Antonii consulatu, genitum eum scribant.

Infancy and childhood

6 Infantiam pueritiamque habuit laboriosam et exercitam, comes usquequaque parentum fugae; quos quidem apud Neapolim sub irruptionem hostis navigium clam petentis vagitu suo paene bis prodidit, semel cum a nutricis ubere, iterum cum a sinu matris raptim auferretur ab iis, qui pro necessitate

temporis mulierculas levare onere temptabant. Per Siciliam quoque et per Achaiam circumductus, ac Lacedaemoniis publice, quod in tutela Claudiorum erant, demandatus, digrediens inde itinere nocturno discrimen vitae adiit, flamma repente e silvis undique exorta, adeoque omnem comitatum circumplexa, ut Liviae pars vestis et capilli amburerentur. Munera, quibus a Pompeia, Sex. Pompei sorore, in Sicilia donatus est, chlamys et fibula item bullae aureae, durant ostenduntur que adhuc Bais. Post reditum in urbem a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus, hereditate adita mox nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius adversarum Augusto partium fuerat.

Novem natus annos defunctum patrem pro rostris laudavit. Dehinc pubescens Actiaco triumpho currum Augusti comitatus est sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviae filius dexteriore veheretur. Praesedit et asticis ludis, et Troiam circensibus, ductor turmae puerorum maiorum.

His youth

7 Virili toga sumpta, adulescentiam omnem spatiumque insequentis aetatis usque ad principatus initia per haec fere transegit. Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in avi Drusi dedit, diversis temporibus ac locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro, rudiariis quoque quibusdam revocatis auctoramento centenum milium; dedit et ludos, sed absens: cuncta magnifice, inpensa matris ac vitrici.

His marriage

Agrippinam, Marco Agrippa genitam, neptem Caecili Attici equitis Romani [ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae], duxit uxorem; sublatoque ex ea filio Druso, quamquam bene convenientem rursusque gravidam dimittere, ac Iuliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere, non sine magno angore

animi, cum et Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur et Iuliae mores improbaret; ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam vulgo existimabatur. Sed Agrippinam et abegisse post divortium doluit, et semel omnino ex occursu visam adeo contentis et umentibus oculis prosecutus est, ut custoditum sit ne umquam in conspectum ei posthac veniret. Cum Iulia primo concorditer et amore mutuo vixit; mox dissedit, et aliquanto gravius, ut etiam perpetuo secubaret, intercepto communis fili pignore, qui Aquileiae natus infans exstinctus est. Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit, cuius corpus, pedibus toto itinere praegrediens, Romam usque pervexit.

Early civil career

8 Civilium officiorum rudimentis regem Archelaum Trallianos et Thessalos, varia quosque de causa, Augusto cognoscente defendit; pro Laodicenis Thyatirenis Chiis, terrae motu afflictis opemque implorantibus, senatum deprecatus est; Fannium Caepionem, qui cum Varrone Murena in Augustum conspiraverat, reum maiestatis apud iudices fecit et condemnavit. Interque haec duplicem curam administravit, annonae quae artior inciderat, et repurgandorum tota Italia ergastulorum, quorum domini in invidiam venerant quasi exceptos supprimerent, non solum viatores sed et quos sacramenti metus ad eius modi latebras compulisset.

Military campaigns

9 Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit, dein ducto ad Orientem exercitu regnum Armeniae Tigrani restituit ac pro tribunali diadema imposuit. Recepit et signa, quae M. Crasso ademerant Parthi. Post hoc Comatam Galliam anno fere rexit, et barbarorum incursionibus et principum discordia inquietam. Exin Raeticum Vindeli-

cumque bellum, inde Pannonicum, inde Germanicum gessit. Raetico atque Vindelico gentis Alpinas, Pannonico Breucos et Dalmatas subegit, Germanico quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit. Quas ob res et ovans et curru urbem ingressus est, prius, ut quidam putant, triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, novo nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris.

Retires to Rhodes

Magistratus et maturius incohavit et paene iunctim percucurrit, quaesturam, praeturam, consulatum; interpositoque tempore consul iterum etiam tribuniciam potestatem in quinquennium ac-
10 cepit. Tot prosperis confluentibus, integra aetate ac valetudine statuit repente secedere seque e medio quam longissime amovere: dubium, uxorisne taedio, quam neque criminari aut dimittere auderet neque ultra perferre posset, an ut vitato assiduitatis fastidio auctoritatem absentia tueretur atque etiam augeret, si quando indiguisset sui res publica. Quidam existimant, adultis iam Augusti liberis, loco et quasi possessione usurpati a se diu secundi gradus sponte cessisse, exemplo M. Agrippae qui, M. Marcello ad munera publica admoto, Mytilenas abierit, ne aut obstare aut obtrectare praesens videretur. Quam causam et ipse, sed postea, reddidit. Tunc autem honorum satietatem ac requiem laborum praetendens, commeatum petit; neque aut matri suppliciter precanti, aut vitrico deseri se etiam in senatu conquerenti veniam dedit. Quin et pertinacius retinentibus, cibo per quadriduum abstinuit. Facta tandem abeundi potestate, relictis Romae uxore et filio confestim Ostiam descendit, ne verbo quidem cuiquam prosequentium reddito paucosque
11 admodum in digressu exosculatus. Ab Ostia oram Cam-

paniae legens, imbecillitate Augusti nuntiata, paulum substitit. Sed increbrescente rumore quasi ad occasionem maioris spei commoraretur, tantum non adversis tempestatibus Rhodum enavigavit, amoenitate et salubritate insulae iam inde captus cum ad eam ab Armenia rediens appulisset. Hic modicis contentus aedibus nec multo laxiore suburbano, genus vitae civile admodum instituit, sine lictore aut viatore gymnasio interdum obambulans, mutuaque cum Graeculis officia usurpans prope ex aequo.

Life in Rhodes

Forte quondam in disponendo die mane praedixerat, quidquid aegrorum in civitate esset visitare se velle; id a proximis aliter exceptum, iussique sunt omnes aegri in publicam porticum deferri ac per valetudinum genera disponi. Perculsus ergo inopinata re diuque quid ageret incertus, tandem singulos circuit, excusans factum etiam tenuissimo cuique et ignoto. Unum hoc modo neque praeterea quicquam notatum est, in quo exseruisse ius tribuniciae potestatis visus sit: cum circa scholas et auditoria professorum assiduus esset, moto inter antisophistas graviore iurgio, non defuit qui eum intervenientem et quasi studiosiorem partis alterius convicio incesseret. Sensim itaque regressus domum, repente cum apparitoribus prodiit citatumque pro tribunali voce praeconis conviciatorem rapi iussit in carcerem.

Divorce from Julia

Comperit deinde Iuliam uxorem ob libidines atque adulteria damnatam, repudiumque ei suo nomine ex auctoritate Augusti remissum; et quamquam laetus nuntio, tamen officii duxit, quantum in se esset, exorare filiae patrem frequentibus litteris et vel utcumque meritae, quidquid umquam dono dedisset, concedere. Transacto autem tribuniciae potes-

tatis tempore, confessus tandem, nihil aliud secessu devitasse se quam aemulationis cum C. Lucioque suspicionem, petit ut sibi securo iam ab hac parte, conroboratis his et secundum locum facile tutantibus, permitteretur revisere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur. Sed neque impetravit ultroque etiam admonitus est, *dimitteret*
12 *omnem curam suorum, quos tam cupide reliquisset.* Remansit igitur Rhodi contra voluntatem, vix per matrem consecutus, ut ad velandam ignominiam quasi legatus Augusto abesset.

His precarious position

Enimvero tunc non privatum modo, sed etiam obnoxium et trepidum egit, mediterraneis agris abditus vitansque praeternavigantium officia, quibus frequentabatur assidue, nemine cum imperio aut magistratu tendente quoquam quin deverteret Rhodum. Et accesserunt maioris sollicitudinis causae. Namque privignum Gaium Orienti praepositum, cum visendi gratia traiecisset Samum, alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lolli comitis et rectoris eius. Venit etiam in suspicionem, per quosdam beneficii sui centuriones a commeatu castra repetentis mandata ad complures dedisse ambigua et quae temptare singulorum animos ad novas res viderentur. De qua suspicione certior ab Augusto factus, non cessavit efflagitare aliquem cuiuslibet
13 ordinis custodem factis atque dictis suis. Equi quoque et armorum solitas exercitationes omisit redegitque se, deposito patrio habitu, ad pallium et crepidas, atque in tali statu biennio fere permansit, contemptior in dies et invisior, adeo ut imagines eius et statuas Nemausenses subverterint, ac familiari quondam convivio mentione eius orta, exstiterit qui Gaio polliceretur, confestim se, si iuberet, Rhodum navigaturum caputque exsulis (sic

enim appellabatur) relaturum. Quo praecipue non iam metu sed discrimine coactus est, tam suis quam matris impensissimis precibus reditum expostulare, impetravitque, adiutus aliquantum etiam casu. Destinatum Augusto erat, nihil super ea re nisi ex voluntate maioris fili statuere; is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilis exorabilisque in vitricum fuit. Permittente ergo Gaïo revocatus est, verum sub condicione ne quam partem curamve rei publicae attingeret.

Return to Rome

Rediit octavo post secessum anno, magna 14 nec incerta spe futurorum, quam et ostentis et praedictionibus ab initio aetatis conceperat.

Omens and predictions of future greatness

Praegnans enim Livia cum, an marem editura esset, variis captaret ominibus, ovum incubanti gallinae subductum nunc sua nunc ministrarum manu per vices usque fovit, quoad pullus insigniter cristatus exclusus est. Ac de infante Scribonius mathematicus praeclara spopondit, etiam regnaturum quandoque, sed sine regio insigni, ignota scilicet tunc adhuc Caesarum potestate. Et ingresso primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit ut apud Philippos sacratae olim victricium legionum arae sponte subitis conlucerent ignibus; et mox, cum Illyricum petens iuxta Patavium adisset Geryonis oraculum, sorte tracta, qua monebatur ut de consultationibus in Aponi fontem talos aureos iaceret, evenit ut summum numerum iacti ab eo ostenderent; hodieque sub aqua visuntur hi tali. Ante paucos vero quam revocaretur dies aquila, numquam antea Rhodi conspecta, in culmine domus eius assedit; et pridie quam de reditu certior fieret, vestimenta mutanti tunica ardere visa est. Thrasyllum quoque mathematicum,

quem ut sapientiae professorem contubernio admoverat, tum maxime expertus est, affirmantem, nave provisa gaudium afferri; cum quidem illum, durius et contra praedicta cadentibus rebus, ut falsum et secretorum temere conscium, eo ipso momento, dum spatiatur una, praecipitare in mare destinasset.

15 Romam reversus, deducto in forum filio Druso, statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit, privata modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers.

Adoption by Augustus

Gaio et Lucio intra triennium defunctis, adoptatur ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippa, coactus prius ipse Germanicum fratris sui filium adoptare. Nec quicquam postea pro patre familias egit aut ius, quod amiserat, ex ulla parte retinuit. Nam neque donavit neque manumisit, ne hereditatem quidem aut legata percepit ulla aliter quam ut peculio referret accepta. Nihil ex eo tempore praetermissum est ad maiestatem eius augendam, ac multo magis post quam, Agrippa abdicato atque seposito, certum erat, uni spem
16 successionis incumbere; data rursus potestas tribunicia in quinquennium, delegatus pacandae Germaniae status, Parthorum legati, mandatis Augusto Romae redditis, eum quoque adire in provincia iussi. Sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione, transiit ad curam novi belli, quod, gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica, per quindecim legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam triennio gessit, in magnis omnium rerum difficultatibus summaque frugum inopia. Et quamquam saepius revocaretur, tamen perseveravit, metuens ne vicinus et praevalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus.

Campaign in Illyricum

Ac perseverantiae grande pretium tulit, toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum et Thraciam et Macedoniam interque Danubium flumen et sinum maris Hadriatici patet, perdomito et in dicionem redacto. Cui 17 gloriae amplior adhuc ex opportunitate cumulus accessit. Nam sub id fere tempus Quintilius Varus cum tribus legionibus in Germania periit, nemine dubitante quin victores Germani iuncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset. Quas ob res triumphus ei decretus est, multique et magni honores.

Honors conferred

Censuerunt etiam quidam ut Pannonicus, alii ut Invictus, nonnulli ut Pius cognominaretur. Sed de cognomine intercessit Augustus, eo contentum repromittens, quod se defuncto suscepturus esset. Triumphum ipse distulit, maesta civitate clade Variana; nihilo minus urbem praetextatus et laurea coronatus intravit positumque in Saeptis tribunal, senatu astante, conscendit, ac medius inter duos consules cum Augusto simul sedit; unde, populo consalutato, circum templa deductus est.

Second campaign in Germany

Proximo anno repetita Germania, cum animadverteret 18 Varianam cladem temeritate et neglegentia ducis accidisse, nihil non de consilii sententia egit; semper alias sui arbitrii contentusque se uno, tunc praeter consuetudinem cum compluribus de ratione belli communicavit. Curam quoque solito exactiorem praestitit. Traiecturus Rhenum commeatum omnem ad certam formulam astrictum non ante transmisit, quam consistens apud ripam explorasset vehiculorum onera, ne qua deportarentur nisi concessa aut necessaria. Trans Rhenum vero eum vitae ordinem tenuit, ut sedens in caespite nudo cibum caperet, saepe sine tentorio pernoctaret, praecepta sequentis diei omnia (et

si quid subiti muneris iniungendum esset, per libellos)
daret; addita monitione ut, de quo quisque dubitaret, se
nec alio interprete quacumque vel noctis hora uteretur.
19 Disciplinam acerrime exegit, animadversionum et igno-
miniarum generibus ex antiquitate repetitis, atque etiam
legato legionis, quod paucos milites cum liberto suo trans
ripam venatum misisset, ignominia notato. Proelia, quam-
vis minimum fortunae casibusque permitteret, aliquanto
constantius inibat quotiens lucubrante se, subito ac nullo
propellente, decideret lumen et extingueretur, confidens,
ut aiebat, ostento sibi a maioribus suis in omni ducatu
expertissimo. Sed re prospere gesta, non multum afuit
quin a Bructero quodam occideretur, cui inter proximos
versanti et trepidatione detecto tormentis expressa con-
20 fessio est cogitati facinoris. A Germania in urbem post
biennium regressus triumphum, quem distu-
lerat, egit, prosequentibus etiam legatis, qui-
bus triumphalia ornamenta impetrarat. Ac

Return to the city

prius quam in Capitolium flecteret, descendit e curru
seque praesidenti patri ad genua summisit. Batonem
Pannonium ducem, ingentibus donatum praemiis, Raven-
nam transtulit, gratiam referens, quod se quondam cum
exercitu iniquitate loci circumclusum passus esset eva-
dere. Prandium dehinc populo mille mensis, et congi-
arium trecenos nummos viritim dedit. Dedicavit et
Concordiae aedem, item Pollucis et Castoris suo fratris-
21 que nomine, de manubiis. Ac non multo post, lege per
consules lata ut provincias cum Augusto communiter ad-
ministraret simulque censum ageret, condito lustro in
Illyricum profectus est. Et statim ex itinere revocatus
iam quidem adfectum, sed tamen spirantem adhuc Au-
gustum repperit fuitque una secreto per totum diem.

Augustus's estimate of Tiberius's character

Scio vulgo persuasum quasi, egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio, vox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: *Miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!* Ne illud quidem ignoro aliquos tradidisse, Augustum palam nec dissimulanter morum eius diritatem adeo improbasse, ut nonnumquam remissiores hilarioresque sermones superveniente eo abrumperet; sed expugnatum precibus uxoris adoptionem non abnuisse, vel etiam ambitione tractum, ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret. Adduci tamen nequeo quin existimem, circumspectissimum et prudentissimum principem, in tanto praesertim negotio, nihil temere fecisse; sed vitiis Tiberii virtutibusque perpensis potiores duxisse virtutes, praesertim cum et rei publicae causa adoptare se eum pro contione iuraverit, et epistulis aliquot ut peritissimum rei militaris utque unicum populo Romano praesidium prosequatur. Ex quibus in exemplum pauca hinc inde subieci:

Vale, iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις στρατηγῶν. *Iucundissime et ita sim felix, vir fortissime et dux* νομιμώτατε, *vale.*

Extracts from Augustus's letters

Ordinem aestivorum tuorum! Ego vero, mi Tiberi, et inter tot rerum difficultates καὶ τοσαύτην ἀποθυμίαν τῶν στρατευομένων *non potuisse quemquam prudentius gerere se quam tu gesseris, existimo. Ii quoque qui tecum fuerunt omnes confitentur, versum illum in te posse dici:*

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

Sive quid incidit de quo sit cogitandum diligentius, sive quid stomachor valde, medius fidius Tiberium meum desidero, succurritque versus ille Homericus:

Τούτου γ' ἑσπομένοιο, καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

Attenuatum te esse continuatione laborum cum audio et lego, di me perdant nisi cohorrescit corpus meum; teque oro ut parcas tibi, ne si te languere audierimus, et ego et mater tua exspiremus et de summa imperi sui populus Romanus periclitetur.

Nihil interest valeam ipse necne, si tu non valebis.

Deos obsecro, ut te nobis conservent et valere nunc et semper patiantur, si non populum Romanum perosi sunt.

Murder of the young Agrippa

22 Excessum Augusti non prius palam fecit, quam Agrippa iuvene interempto. Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus occidit, lectis codicillis, quibus ut id faceret iubebatur; quos codicillos dubium fuit, Augustusne moriens reliquisset, quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret; an nomine Augusti Livia et ea conscio Tiberio an ignaro, dictasset. Tiberius renuntianti tribuno, factum esse quod imperasset, *neque imperasse se et redditurum eum senatui rationem* respondit, invidiam scilicet in praesentia vitans. Nam
23 mox silentio rem obliteravit. Iure autem tribuniciae potestatis coacto senatu incohataque adlocutione, derepente velut impar dolori congemuit, utque non solum vox sed et spiritus deficeret optavit ac perlegendum librum Druso filio tradidit. Inlatum deinde Augusti testamentum, non admissis signatoribus nisi senatorii ordinis, ceteris extra curiam signa agnoscentibus, recitavit per libertum. Testamenti initium fuit: *Quoniam atrox fortuna Gaium et Lucium filios mihi eripuit, Tiberius Caesar mihi ex parte dimidia et sextante heres esto.* Quo et ipso aucta suspicio

Augustus's will

est opinantium, successorem ascitum eum necessitate magis quam iudicio, quando ita praefari non abstinuerit.

Principatum, quamvis neque occupare confestim neque 24
agere dubitasset, statione militum, hoc est vi et specie dominationis, assumpta, diu tamen recusavit, impudentissimo mimo nunc adhortantis amicos increpans ut *ignaros, quanta belua esset imperium,* nunc precantem senatum et procumbentem sibi ad genua ambiguis responsis et callida cunctatione suspendens; ut quidam patientiam rumperent atque unus in tumultu proclamaret: *Aut agat, aut desistat!* alter coram exprobraret, ceteros, quod polliciti sint tarde praestare, sed ipsum, quod praestet tarde polliceri. Tandem quasi coactus, et querens *miseram et onerosam iniungi sibi servitutem,* recepit imperium; nec tamen aliter, quam ut depositurum se quandoque spem faceret. Ipsius verba sunt: *Dum veniam ad id tempus, quo vobis aequum possit videri dare vos aliquam senectuti meae requiem.*

Pretended reluctance to assume imperial authority

Cunctandi causa erat metus undique imminentium dis- 25
criminum, ut saepe *lupum se auribus tenere* diceret. Nam et servus Agrippae Clemens nomine non contemnendam manum in ultionem domini comparat, et L. Scribonius Libo vir nobilis res novas clam moliebatur, et duplex seditio militum in Illyrico et in Germania exorta est. Flagitabant ambo exercitus multa extra ordinem, ante omnia ut aequarentur stipendio praetorianis. Germaniciani quidem etiam principem detractabant non a se datum, summaque vi Germanicum, qui tum iis praeerat, ad capessendam rem publicam urgebant, quamquam offirmate resistentem. Quem maxime casum timens, *partes sibi quas senatui*

His apprehensions

liberet tuendas in re publica depoposcit, *quando universae sufficere solus nemo posset, nisi cum altero vel etiam cum pluribus.* Simulavit et valetudinem, quo aequiore animo Germanicus celerem successionem vel certe societatem principatus opperiretur. Compositis seditionibus Clementem quoque, fraude deceptum, redegit in potestatem. Libonem, ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret, secundo demum anno in senatu coarguit, medio temporis spatio tantum cavere contentus; nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curavit, et secretum petenti nonnisi adhibito Druso filio dedit, dextramque obambulantis veluti incumbens, quoad perageretur sermo, continuit.

Unassuming conduct

26 Verum liberatus metu, civilem admodum inter initia ac paulo minus quam privatum egit. Ex plurimis maximisque honoribus praeter paucos et modicos non recepit. Natalem suum, plebeis incurrentem circensibus, vix unius bigae adiectione honorari passus est. Templa, flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit, etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni: permisitque ea sola condicione, ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur. Intercessit et quo minus in acta sua iuraretur, et ne mensis September Tiberius, October Livius vocarentur. Praenomen quoque *imperatoris* cognomenque *patris patriae*, et civicam in vestibulo coronam recusavit; ac ne *Augusti* quidem nomen, quamquam hereditarium, ullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit. Nec amplius quam mox tres consulatus, unum paucis diebus, alterum tribus mensibus, tertium absens usque in Idus Maias gessit.

27 Adulationes adeo aversatus est, ut neminem senatorum

Aversion to flattery

aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit, consularem vero, satisfacientem sibi ac per genua orare conantem, ita suffugerit ut caderet supinus; atque etiam, si quid in sermone vel in continua oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare ac reprehendere et commutare continuo. *Dominus* appellatus a quodam, denuntiavit ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret. Alium dicentem sacras eius occupationes et rursus alium, auctore eo senatum se adisse, verba mutare et pro auctore suasorem, pro sacris laboriosas dicere coegit. Sed et adversus con- 28
vicia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens, subinde iactabat, *in civitate libera linguam mentemque liberas esse debere;* et quondam senatu cognitionem de eius modi criminibus ac reis flagitante, *Non tantum,* inquit, *otii habemus, ut implicare nos pluribus negotiis debeamus; si hanc fenestram aperueritis, nihil aliud agi sinetis: omnium inimicitiae hoc praetexto ad nos deferentur.* Exstat et sermo eius in senatu percivilis: *Siquidem locutus aliter fuerit, dabo operam ut rationem factorum meorum dictorumque reddam; si perseveraverit, in vicem eum odero.*

Freedom of speech permitted

Atque haec eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellan- 29
dis venerandisque et singulis et universis prope excesserat humanitatis modum. Dissentiens in curia a Q. Haterio, *Ignoscas,* inquit, *rogo, si quid adversus te liberius sicut senator dixero.* Et deinde omnis adloquens: *Dixi et nunc et saepe alias, patres conscripti, bonum et salutarem principem, quem vos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui servire debere et universis civibus saepe, et plerumque etiam*

Courtesy to senate

singulis; neque id dixisse me paenitet, et bonos et aequos et faventes vos habui dominos et adhuc habeo.

Liberty allowed the senate and magistrates

0 Quin etiam speciem libertatis quandam induxit, conservatis senatui ac magistratibus et maiestate pristina et potestate. Neque tam parvum quicquam neque tam magnum publici privatique negotii fuit, de quo non ad patres conscriptos referretur: de vectigalibus ac monopoliis, de exstruendis reficiendisve operibus, etiam de legendo vel exauctorando milite ac legionum et auxiliorum descriptione, denique quibus imperium prorogari aut extraordinaria bella mandari, quid et qua forma regum litteris rescribi placeret. Praefectum alae, de vi et rapinis reum, causam in senatu dicere coegit. Numquam curiam nisi solus intravit; lectica quondam introlatus aeger, comites a se
1 removit. Quaedam adversus sententiam suam decerni, ne questus quidem est. Negante eo destinatos magistratus abesse oportere, ut praesentes honori acquiescerent, praetor designatus liberam legationem impetravit. Iterum censente, ut Trebianis legatam in opus novi theatri pecuniam ad munitionem viae transferre concederetur, optinere non potuit quin rata voluntas legatoris esset. Cum senatus consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo.

Cetera quoque nonnisi per magistratus et iure ordinario agebantur, tanta consulum auctoritate ut legati ex Africa adierint eos querentes, trahi se a Caesare ad quem missi forent. Nec mirum, cum palam esset ipsum quoque eisdem et assurgere et decedere via.

Consideration displayed to high and low

2 Corripuit consulares exercitibus praepositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberent, quod-

que de tribuendis quibusdam militaribus donis ad se referrent, quasi non omnium tribuendorum ipsi ius haberent. Praetorem conlaudavit, quod honore inito consuetudinem antiquam retulisset de maioribus suis pro contione memorandi. Quorundam illustrium exsequias usque ad rogum frequentavit.

Parem moderationem minoribus quoque et personis et rebus exhibuit. Cum Rhodiorum magistratus, quod litteras publicas sine subscriptione ad se dederant, evocasset, ne verbo quidem insectatus ac tantum modo iussos subscribere remisit. Diogenes grammaticus, disputare sabbatis Rhodi solitus, venientem eum, ut se extra ordinem audiret, non admiserat ac per servolum suum in septimum diem distulerat; hunc Romae, salutandi sui causa pro foribus adstantem, nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret admonuit. Praesidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit, *boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere.*

Gradual assumption of sovereignty

Paulatim principem exseruit, praestititque etsi varium 33
diu, commodiorem tamen saepius et ad utilitates publicas proniorem. Ac primo eatenus interveniebat, ne quid perperam fieret. Itaque et constitutiones senatus quasdam rescidit, et magistratibus pro tribunali cognoscentibus plerumque se offerebat consiliarium assidebatque iuxtim vel exadversum in parte primori; et si quem reorum elabi gratia rumor esset, subitus aderat iudicesque aut e plano aut e quaesitoris tribunali legum et religionis et noxae, de qua cognoscerent, admonebat; atque etiam, si qua in publicis moribus desidia aut mala consuetudine labarent, corrigenda suscepit. Ludorum ac munerum impensas corripuit, 34
mercedibus scaenicorum recisis paribusque gladiatorum

ad certum numerum redactis. Corinthiorum vasorum pretia in immensum exarsisse tresque mullos triginta milibus nummum venisse graviter conquestus, adhibendum supellectili modum censuit annonamque macelli senatus arbitratu quotannis temperandam, dato aedilibus negotio popinas ganeasque usque eo inhibendi, ut ne opera quidem pistoria proponi venalia sinerent. Et ut parsimoniam publicam exemplo quoque iuvaret, sollemnibus ipse cenis pridiana saepe ac semesa obsonia apposuit dimidiatumque aprum, affirmans, *omnia eadem habere, quae totum.*

Extravagance checked

Cotidiana oscula edicto prohibuit, item strenarum commercium ne ultra Kal. Ian. exerceretur. Consuerat quadruplam strenam, et de manu, reddere; sed offensus interpellari se toto mense ab iis qui potestatem sui die
35 festo non habuissent, ultra non tulit. Matronas prostratae pudicitiae, quibus accusator publicus deesset, ut propinqui more maiorum de communi sententia coercerent auctor fuit. Equiti Romano iuris iurandi gratiam fecit, uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se numquam repudiaturum ante iuraverat. Feminae famosae, ut ad evitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant, et ex iuventute utriusque ordinis profligatissimus quisque, quo minus in opera scaenae harenaeque edenda senatus consulto teneretur, famosi iudicii notam sponte subibant; eos easque omnes, ne quod refugium in tali fraude cuiquam esset, exsilio adfecit. Senatori latum clavum ademit, cum cognosset, sub Kal. Iul. demigrasse in hortos, quo vilius post diem aedes in urbe conduceret. Alium et quaestura removit, quod uxorem pridie sortitionem ductam postridie repu-

Licentiousness curbed

Suppression of foreign rites

diasset. Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque 36
ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Iudaeorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit, reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summovit, sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent. Expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittentibus veniam dedit.

Preservation of peace, at home and abroad

In primis tuendae pacis a grassaturis ac latrociniis 37
seditionumque licentia curam habuit. Stationes militum per Italiam solito frequentiores disposuit. Romae castra constituit, quibus praetorianae cohortes, vagae ante id tempus et per hospitia dispersae, continerentur.

Populares tumultus et ortos gravissime coërcuit et ne orerentur sedulo cavit. Caede in theatro per discordiam admissa, capita factionum et histriones, propter quos dissidebatur, relegavit, nec ut revocaret umquam ullis populi precibus potuit evinci. Cum Pollentina plebs funus cuiusdam primipilaris non prius ex foro misisset, quam extorta pecunia per vim heredibus ad gladiatorium munus, cohortem ab urbe et aliam a Cotti regno, dissimulata itineris causa, detectis repente armis concinentibusque signis per diversas portas in oppidum immisit, ac partem maiorem plebei ac decurionum in perpetua vincula coniecit. Abolevit et ius moremque asylorum, quae usquam erant. Cyzicenis in cives Romanos violentius quaedam ausis publice libertatem ademit, quam Mithridatico bello meruerant.

Hostiles motus, nulla postea expeditione suscepta, per

legatos compescuit, ne per eos quidem nisi cunctanter et necessario. Reges infestos suspectosque comminationibus magis et querellis quam vi repressit; quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut Maroboduum Germanum, Rhascupolim Thracem, Archelaum Cappadocem, cuius etiam regnum in formam provinciae redegit.

Reluctance to leave Rome

38 Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium pedem porta non extulit; sequenti tempore praeterquam in propinqua oppida et, cum longissime, Antio tenus nusquam afuit, idque perraro et paucos dies; quamvis provincias quoque et exercitus revisurum se saepe pronuntiasset et prope quotannis profectionem praepararet, vehiculis comprehensis, commeatibus per municipia et colonias dispositis, ad extremum vota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus, ut vulgo iam per iocum *Callippides* vocaretur (quem cursitare ac ne cubiti quidem mensuram progredi pro-
39 verbio Graeco notatum est). Sed orbatus utroque filio,
quorum Germanicus in Syria, Drusus Romae obierat, secessum Campaniae petit; constanti et opinione et sermone paene omnium quasi neque rediturus umquam et cito mortem etiam obiturus. Quod paulo minus utrumque evenit; nam neque Romam amplius rediit, et paucos post dies iuxta Tarracinam in praetorio, cui Speluncae nomen est, incenante eo complura et ingentia saxa fortuito superne delapsa sunt, multisque convivarum et ministrorum elisis, praeter spem evasit.

Withdrawal to Campania

40 Peragrata Campania, cum Capuae Capitolium, Nolae templum Augusti, quam causam profectionis praetenderat, dedicasset, Capreas se contulit, praecipue delecta-

tus insula, quod uno parvoque litore adiretur, saepta undique praeruptis immensae altitudinis rupibus et profundo mari. Statimque revocante assidua obtestatione populo propter cladem, qua apud Fidenas supra viginti hominum milia gladiatorio munere amphitheatri ruina perierant, transiit in continentem potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit: tanto magis, quod urbe egrediens ne qui se interpellaret edixerat ac toto itinere adeuntis submoverat.

Regressus in insulam, rei publicae quidem curam usque 41
adeo abiecit, ut postea non decurias equitum umquam supplerit, non tribunos militum praefectosque, non provinciarum praesides ullos mutaverit, Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit, Armeniam a Parthis occupari, Moesiam a Dacis Sarmatisque, Gallias a Germanis vastari neglexerit, magno dedecore imperii nec minore discrimine.

Capreae

Ceterum secreti licentiam nanctus et quasi 42
civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta simul vitia male diu dissimulata tandem profudit: de quibus singillatim ab exordio referam. In castris tiro etiam tum propter nimiam vini aviditatem pro Tiberio *Biberius*, pro Claudio *Caldius*, pro Nerone *Mero* vocabatur. Postea princeps in ipsa publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et L. Pisone noctem continuumque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri Syriam provinciam, alteri praefecturam urbis confestim detulit, codicillis quoque iucundissimos et omnium horarum amicos professus. Sestio Gallo, libidinoso ac prodigo seni, olim ab Augusto ignominia notato et a se ante paucos dies apud senatum increpito, cenam ea lege condixit, ne quid ex consuetudine immu-

His dissipation

taret aut demeret, utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cenaretur. Ignotissimum quaesturae candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit ob epotam in convivio, propinante se, vini amphoram. Asellio Sabino sestertia ducenta donavit pro dialogo, in quo boleti et ficedulae et ostreae et turdi certamen induxerat. Novum denique officium instituit a voluptatibus, praeposito equite Romano T. Caesonio Prisco.

. . . . . .

Stinginess

46 Pecuniae parcus ac tenax, comites peregrinationum expeditionumque numquam salario, cibariis tantum sustentavit, una modo liberalitate ex indulgentia vitrici prosecutus, cum tribus classibus factis pro dignitate cuiusque, primae sescenta sestertia, secundae quadringenta distribuit, ducenta tertiae, quam non amicorum, sed gratorum appellabat.

47 Princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit (nam et quae sola susceperat, Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri, imperfecta post tot annos reliquit) neque spectacula omnino edidit; et iis, quae ab aliquo ederentur, rarissime interfuit, ne quid exposceretur, utique postquam comoedum Actium coactus est manumittere. Paucorum senatorum inopia sustentata, ne pluribus opem ferret, negavit se aliis subventurum, nisi senatui iustas necessitatium causas probassent. Quo pacto plerosque modestia et pudore deterruit, in quibus Hortalum, Quinti Hortensi oratoris nepotem, qui permodica re familiari auctore Augusto quattuor liberos tulerat.

48 Publice munificentiam bis omnino exhibuit, proposito milies sestertium gratuito in triennii tempus, et rursus quibusdam dominis insularum, quae in monte Caelio deflagrarant, pretio restituto. Quorum alterum magna difficultate nummaria, populo auxilium flagitante, coactus

est facere, cum per senatus consultum sanxisset, ut faeneratores duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, debitores totidem aeris alieni statim solverent, nec res expediretur; alterum ad mitigandam temporum atrocitatem. Quod tamen beneficium tanti aestimavit, ut montem Caelium appellatione mutata vocari Augustum iusserit. Militi post duplicata ex Augusti testamento legata nihil umquam largitus est, praeterquam singula milia denariorum praetorianis, quod Seiano se non accommodassent, et quaedam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent. Atque etiam missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans. Ne provincias quidem liberalitate ulla sublevavit, excepta Asia, disiectis terrae motu civitatibus.

Greed

Procedente mox tempore etiam ad rapinas convertit 49
animum. Sat constat, Cn. Lentulum augurem, cui census maximus fuerit, metu et angore ad fastidium vitae ab eo actum et ut ne quo nisi ipso herede moreretur; condemnatam et generosissimam feminam Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini consularis praedivitis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio post vicensimum annum veneni olim in se comparati arguebat; praeterea Galliarum et Hispaniarum Syriaeque et Graeciae principes confiscatos ob tam leve ac tam inpudens calumniarum genus, ut quibusdam non aliud sit obiectum, quam quod partem rei familiaris in pecunia haberent; plurimis etiam civitatibus et privatis veteres immunitates et ius metallorum ac vectigalium adempta; sed et Vononem regem Parthorum, qui pulsus a suis quasi in fidem populi Romani cum ingenti gaza Antiochiam se receperat, spoliatum perfidia et occisum.

Hatred and cruelty toward relatives

50 Odium adversus necessitudines in Druso primum fratre detexit (prodita eius epistula, qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat) deinde et in reliquis. Iuliae uxori tantum afuit ut relegatae, quod minimum est, officii aut humanitatis aliquid impertiret, ut ex constitutione patris uno oppido clausam domo quoque egredi et commercio hominum frui vetuerit; sed et peculio concesso a patre praebitisque annuis fraudavit, per speciem publici iuris, quod nihil de his Augustus testamento cavisset. Matrem Liviam gravatus velut partes sibi aequas potentiae vindicantem, et congressum eius assiduum vitavit et longiores secretioresque sermones, ne consiliis, quibus tamen interdum et egere et uti solebat, regi videretur. Tulit etiam perindigne actum in senatu, ut titulis suis quasi Augusti, ita et *Liviae filius* adiceretur.

His mother Livia

Quare non *parentem patriae* appellari, non ullum insignem honorem recipere publice passus est; sed et frequenter admonuit, maioribus nec feminae convenientibus negotiis abstineret, praecipue ut animadvertit, incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam intervenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub
51 marito solita esset. Dehinc ad simultatem usque processit hac, ut ferunt, de causa. Instanti saepius, ut civitate donatum in decurias adlegeret, negavit alia se condicione adlecturum, quam si pateretur ascribi albo, *extortum id sibi a matre.* At illa commota veteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate et intolerantia morum eius e sacrario protulit atque recitavit. Hos et custoditos tam diu et exprobratos tam infeste adeo graviter tulit, ut quidam putent, inter causas secessus

hanc ei vel praecipuam fuisse. Toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre afuit, semel omnino eam nec amplius quam uno die paucissimis vidit horis; ac mox neque aegrae adesse curavit defunctamque et, dum adventus sui spem facit, complurium dierum mora corrupto demum et tabido corpore funeratam prohibuit consecrari, quasi id ipsa mandasset. Testamentum quoque eius pro irrito habuit, omnisque amicitias et familiaritates, etiam quibus ea funeris sui curam moriens demandaverat, intra breve tempus afflixit, uno ex iis, equestris ordinis viro, et in antliam condemnato.

His sons

Filiorum neque naturalem Drusum neque adoptivum 5
Germanicum patria caritate dilexit, alterius vitiis infensus. Nam Drusus fluxioris remissiorisque vitae erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde adfectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, iustitio longiore inhibito. Quin et Iliensium legatis paulo serius consolantibus, quasi obliterata iam doloris memoria, irridens *se quoque* respondit *vicem eorum dolere, quod egregium civem Hectorem amisissent.* Germanico usque adeo obtrectavit, ut et praeclara facta eius pro supervacuis elevarit et gloriosissimas victorias ceu damnosas rei publicae increparet. Quod vero Alexandream propter immensam et repentinam famem inconsulto se adisset, questus est in senatu. Etiam causa mortis fuisse ei per Cn. Pisonem legatum Syriae creditur, quem mox huius criminis reum putant quidam mandata prolaturum, nisi ea secreto ostentant . . . quae multifariam inscriptum et per noctes creberrime adclamatum est: *Redde Germanicum!* Quam suspicionem confirmavit ipse postea, coniuge etiam ac liberis Germanici crudelem in modum afflictis.

53 Nurum Agrippinam, post mariti mortem liberius quiddam questam, manu apprehendit Graecoque versu *Si non dominaris*, inquit, *filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?* nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est. Quondam vero inter cenam porrecta a se poma gustare non ausam etiam vocare desiit, simulans veneni se crimine accersi; cum praestructum utrumque consulto esset, ut et ipse temptandi gratia offerret et illa quasi certissimum exitium caveret. Novissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere velle, Pandatariam relegavit, conviciantique oculum per centurionem verberibus excussit. Rursus mori inedia destinanti, per vim ore diducto, infulciri cibum iussit. Sed et perseverantem atque ita absumptam criminosissime insectatus est, cum diem quoque natalem eius inter nefastos referendum suasisset. Imputavit etiam, quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abiecerit; proque tali clementia interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratiae agerentur et Capitolino Iovi donum ex auro sacraretur.

His daughter-in-law Agrippina

54 Cum ex Germanico tres nepotes, Neronem et Drusum et Gaium, ex Druso unum Tiberium haberet, destitutus morte liberorum maximos natu de Germanici filiis, Neronem et Drusum, patribus conscriptis commendavit diemque utriusque tirocinii congiario plebei dato celebravit. Sed ut comperit, ineunte anno pro eorum quoque salute publice vota suscepta, egit cum senatu, *non debere talia praemia tribui nisi expertis et aetate provectis:* atque ex eo, patefacta interiore animi sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit, variaque fraude inductos, ut et concitarentur ad convicia et concitati proderentur, accusavit per litteras amarissime

His grandsons

congestis etiam probris, et iudicatos hostis fame necavit: Neronem in insula Pontia, Drusum in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad voluntariam mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex quasi ex senatus auctoritate missus laqueos et uncos ostentaret, Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta ut tomentum e culcita temptaverit mandere, amborum sic reliquias dispersas ut vix quandoque colligi possent.

His counsellors and Sejanus

Super veteres amicos ac familiares viginti sibi e nu- 55
mero principum civitatis depoposcerat, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis. Horum vix duos anne tres incolumis praestitit, ceteros alium alia de causa perculit, inter quos cum plurimorum clade Aelium Seianum; quem ad summam potentiam non tam benevolentia provexerat, quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumveniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret.

His savants

Nihilo lenior in convictores Graeculos, quibus vel ma- 56
xime acquiescebat. Xenonem quendam exquisitius sermocinantem cum interrogasset, quaenam illa tam molesta dialectos esset, et ille respondisset Doridem, relegavit Cinariam, existimans exprobratum sibi veterem secessum, quod Dorice Rhodii loquantur. Item cum soleret ex lectione cotidiana quaestiones super cenam proponere et comperisset Seleucum grammaticum a ministris suis perquirere, quos quoque tempore tractaret auctores, atque ita praeparatum venire, primum a contubernio removit, deinde etiam ad mortem compulit.

Saeva ac lenta natura ne in puero quidem latuit: quam 57
Theodorus Gadareus rhetoricae praeceptor et perspexisse primus sagaciter et assimilasse aptissime visus est, sub-

inde in obiurgando appellans eum πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον [id est lutum a sanguine maceratum.]

Further examples of severity and cruelty

Sed aliquanto magis in principe eluxit, etiam inter initia cum adhuc favorem hominum moderationis simulatione captaret. Scurram, qui praetereunte funere clare mortuo mandarat, ut nuntiaret Augusto, *nondum reddi legata quae plebei reliquisset*, adtractum ad se recipere debitum ducique ad supplicium imperavit, et patri suo verum referre. Nec multo post in senatu Pompeio cuidam equiti Romano quiddam perneganti, dum vincula minatur, affirmavit fore, *ut ex Pompeio Pompeianus fieret* acerba cavillatione simul hominis nomen incessens veterumque partium fortunam.

58 Sub idem tempus, consulente praetore an iudicia maiestatis cogi iuberet, exercendas esse leges respondit et atrocissime exercuit. Statuae quidam Augusti caput dempserat, ut alterius imponeret; acta res in senatu et, quia ambigebatur, per tormenta quaesita est. Damnato reo paulatim genus calumniae eo processit, ut haec quoque capitalia essent: circa Augusti simulacrum servum cecidisse, vestimenta mutasse, nummo vel anulo effigiem impressam latrinae aut lupanari intulisse, dictum ullum factumve eius existimatione aliqua laesisse. Periit denique et is, qui honorem in colonia sua eodem die decerni sibi passus est, quo decreti et Augusto olim erant.

Lampoons directed against Tiberius

59 Multa praeterea specie gravitatis ac morum corrigendorum, sed et magis naturae obtemperans, ita saeve et atrociter factitavit, ut nonnulli versiculis quoque et praesentia exprobrarent et futura denuntiarent mala:

Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream, si te mater amare potest.

Non es eques; quare? Non sunt tibi milia centum:
Omnia si quaeras, et Rhodus exsilium est.

Aurea mutasti Saturni saecula, Caesar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.

Fastidit vinum, quia iam sitit iste cruorem:
Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.

Aspice Felicem (sibi, non tibi), Romule, Sullam,
Et Marium, si vis, aspice, sed reducem,
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis
Non semel infectas aspice caede manus,
Et dic: Roma perit, regnavit sanguine multo,
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exsilio.

Quae primo, quasi ab impatientibus remediorum ac non tam ex animi sententia quam bile et stomacho fingerentur, volebat accipi, dicebatque identidem: *Oderint, dum probent!* Dein vera plane certaque esse ipse fecit fidem.

In paucis diebus quam Capreas attigit piscatori, qui 60
sibi secretum agenti grandem mullum inopinanter obtulerat, perfricari eodem pisce faciem iussit, territus, quod is a tergo insulae per aspera et devia erepsisset ad se; gratulanti autem inter poenam, quod non et locustam, quam praegrandem ceperat, obtulisset, locusta quoque lacerari os imperavit. Militem praetorianum ob subreptum e viridiario pavonem capite puniit. In quodam itinere lectica, qua vehebatur, vepribus impedita, exploratorem viae, primarum cohortium centurionem, stratum humi paene ad necem verberavit. Mox in omne genus crudelitatis erupit, numquam 61
deficiente materia, cum primo matris, deinde nepotum et nurus, postremo Seiani familiares atque etiam notos per-

Cruelty at Capreae

sequeretur; post cuius interitum vel saevissimus extitit. Quo maxime apparuit, non tam ipsum ab Seiano concitari solitum, quam Seianum quaerenti occasiones sumministrasse; etsi commentario, quem de vita sua summatim breviterque composuit, ausus est scribere, *Seianum se punisse, quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui:* quorum ipse alterum suspecto iam, alterum oppresso demum Seiano interemit.

Trials and executions at Rome

Singillatim crudeliter facta eius exsequi longum est; genera, velut exemplaria saevitiae, enumerare sat erit. Nullus a poena hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer; animadversum in quosdam ineunte anno novo. Accusati damnatique multi cum libertis atque etiam liberis suis. Interdictum ne capite damnatos propinqui lugerent. Decreta accusatoribus praecipua praemia, nonnumquam et testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. Omne crimen pro capitali receptum, etiam paucorum simpliciumque verborum. Obiectum est poetae, quod in tragoedia Agamemnonem probris lacessisset; obiectum et historico, quod Brutum Cassiumque ultimos Romanorum dixisset; animadversum statim in auctores scriptaque abolita, quamvis probarentur ante aliquot annos, etiam Augusto audiente, recitata. Quibusdam custodiae traditis non modo studendi solacium ademptum, sed etiam sermonis et colloquii usus. Citati ad causam dicendam partim se domi vulneraverunt certi damnationis et ad vexationem ignominiamque vitandam, partim in media curia venenum hauserunt; et tamen colligatis vulneribus ac semianimes palpitantesque adhuc in carcerem rapti. Nemo punitorum non in Gemonias abiectus uncoque tractus, viginti uno die abiecti tractique, inter eos femi-

nae et pueri. Immaturae puellae, quia more tradito nefas esset virgines strangulari, vitiatae prius a carnifice, dein strangulatae. Mori volentibus vis adhibita vivendi. Nam mortem adeo leve supplicium putabat, ut cum audisset unum e reis, Carnulum nomine, anticipasse eam, exclamaverit: *Carnulus me evasit.* Et in recognoscendis custodiis precanti cuidam poenae maturitatem respondit: *Nondum tecum in gratiam redii.* Annalibus suis vir consularis inseruit, frequenti quondam convivio, cui et ipse affuerit, interrogatum eum subito et clare a quodam nano adstante mensae inter copreas, cur Paconius maiestatis reus tam diu viveret, statim quidem petulantiam linguae obiurgasse, ceterum post paucos dies scripsisse senatui ut de poena Paconi quam primum statueret.

Auxit intenditque saevitiam, exacerbatus indicio de 62
morte filii sui Drusi. Quem cum morbo et intemperantia perisse existimaret, ut tandem veneno interemptum fraude Livillae uxoris atque Seiani cognovit, neque tormentis neque supplicio cuiusquam pepercit, soli huic cognitioni adeo per totos dies deditus et intentus, ut Rhodiensem hospitem, quem familiaribus litteris Romam evocarat, advenisse sibi nuntiatum, torqueri sine mora iusserit, quasi aliquis ex necessariis quaestioni adesset; deinde errore detecto, et occidi, ne vulgaret iniuriam. Carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa et exquisita tormenta praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat, excipiente classiariorum manu et contis atque remis elidente cadavera, ne cui residui spiritus quicquam inesset. Excogitaverat autem inter genera cruciatus etiam, ut larga meri potione per fallaciam oneratos, repente veretris deligatis, fidicularum simul urinaeque

Vengeance wreaked for the murder of Drusus

tormento distenderet. Quod nisi eum et mors praevenisset et Thrasyllus consulto, ut aiunt, differre quaedam spe longioris vitae compulisset, plures aliquanto necaturus ac ne reliquis quidem nepotibus parsurus creditur, cum et Gaium suspectum haberet, et Tiberium ut ex adulterio conceptum aspernaretur. Nec abhorret a vero; namque identidem *felicem Priamum vocabat, quod superstes omnium suorum exstitisset.*

His fears and apprehensions

63 Quam inter haec non modo invisus ac detestabilis, sed praetrepidus quoque atque etiam contumeliis obnoxius vixerit, multa indicia sunt. Haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consuli vetuit. Vicina vero urbi oracula etiam disicere conatus est, sed maiestate Praenestinarum sortium territus destitit, cum obsignatas devectasque Romam non repperisset in arca nisi relata rursus ad templum. Unum et alterum consulares, oblatis provinciis non ausus a se dimittere, usque eo detinuit, donec successores post aliquot annos praesentibus daret; cum interim manente officii titulo etiam delegaret plurima assidue, quae illi per legatos et
64 adiutores suos exsequenda curarent. Nurum ac nepotes numquam aliter post damnationem quam catenatos obsutaque lectica loco movit, prohibitis per militem obviis ac viatoribus respicere usquam vel consistere.

The fall of Sejanus

65 Seianum res novas molientem, quamvis iam et natalem eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim videret, vix tandem et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subvertit. Nam primo, ut a se per speciem honoris dimitteret, collegam sibi adsumpsit in quinto consulatu, quem longo intervallo absens ob id ipsum susceperat. Deinde spe affinitatis ac tribuniciae potestatis deceptum inopinantem

criminatus est pudenda miserandaque oratione, cum inter alia patres conscriptos precaretur, mitterent alterum e consulibus, qui se senem et solum in conspectum eorum cum aliquo militari praesidio perduceret. Sic quoque diffidens tumultumque metuens, Drusum nepotem, quem vinculis adhuc Romae continebat, solvi, si res posceret, ducemque constitui praeceperat. Aptatis etiam navibus ad quascumque legiones meditabatur fugam, speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quae, ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul, ut quidque factum foret, mandaverat. Verum et oppressa coniuratione Seiani nihilo securior aut constantior, per novem proximos menses non egressus est villa, quae vocatur Ionis.

Opprobrium cast upon Tiberius

Urebant insuper anxiam mentem varia undique con- **66**
vicia, nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus coram vel per libellos in orchestra positos ingerente. Quibus quidem diversissime adficiebatur, modo ut prae pudore ignota et celata cuncta cuperet, nonnumquam eadem contemneret et proferret ultro atque vulgaret. Quin et Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est litteris, parricidia et caedes et ignaviam et luxuriam obicientis, monentisque ut voluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque civium odio quam primum satis faceret. Postremo semet ipse pertaesus, tali epis- **67**
tulae principio tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est:

Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaeque peius perdant quam cotidie perire sentio, si scio.

Existimant quidam [praescisse haec] eum peritia futurorum multo ante, quanta se quandoque acerbitas et infamia maneret, prospexisse; ideoque, ut imperium inierit,

et patris patriae appellationem et ne in acta sua iuraretur obstinatissime recusasse, ne mox maiore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inveniretur. Quod sane ex oratione eius, quam de utraque re habuit, colligi potest; vel cum ait, *similem se semper sui futurum nec umquam mutaturum mores suos, quam diu sanae mentis fuisset; sed exempli causa cavendum esse, ne se senatus in acta cuiusquam obligaret, qui aliquo casu mutari posset.* Et rursus

Refuses title Pater patriae

Si quando autem, inquit, *de moribus meis devotoque vobis animo dubitaveritis, (quod prius quam eveniat, opto ut me supremus dies huic mutatae vestrae de me opinioni eripiat) nihil honoris adiciet mihi patria appellatio, vobis autem exprobrabit aut temeritatem delati mihi eius cognominis aut inconstantiam contrarii de me iudicii.*

68 Corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura quae iustam excederet; latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens; sinistra manu agiliore ac validiore, articulis ita firmis, ut recens et integrum malum digito terebraret, caput pueri vel etiam adulescentis talitro vulneraret. Colore erat candido, capillo pone occipitium summissiore ut cervicem etiam obtegeret, quod gentile in illo videbatur; facie honesta, in qua tamen crebri et subiti tumores, cum praegrandibus oculis et qui, quod mirum esset, noctu etiam et in tenebris viderent, sed ad breve et cum primum a somno patuissent; deinde rursum hebescebant. Incedebat cervice rigida et obstipa, adducto fere vultu, plerumque tacitus, nullo aut rarissimo etiam cum proximis sermone eoque tardissimo, nec sine molli quadam digitorum gesticulatione. Quae omnia ingrata atque arrogantiae plena et

Personal appearance

animadvertit Augustus in eo et excusare temptavit saepe apud senatum ac populum, professus naturae vitia esse, non animi. Valetudine prosperrima usus est, tempore quidem principatus paene toto prope inlaesa, quamvis a tricesimo aetatis anno arbitratu eam suo rexerit sine adiumento consiliove medicorum.

Superstition

Circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus 6
mathematicae plenusque persuasionis, cuncta fato agi. Tonitrua tamen praeter modum expavescebat et turbatiore caelo numquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis.

His literary pursuits

Artes liberales utriusque generis studiosissime coluit. 7
In oratione Latina secutus est Corvinum Messalam, quem senem adulescens observarat. Sed affectatione et morositate nimia obscurabat stilum, ut aliquanto ex tempore quam a cura praestantior haberetur. Composuit et carmen lyricum, cuius est titulus *Conquestio de morte L. Caesaris.* Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit, et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt. Maxime tamen curavit notitiam historiae fabularis usque ad ineptias atque derisum; nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur, *quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter virgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae?* Et quo primum die post excessum Augusti curiam intravit, quasi pietati simul ac religioni satis facturus, Minois exemplo, ture quidem ac vino verum sine

tibicine supplicavit, ut ille olim in morte filii. Sermone
71 Graeco quamquam alioqui promptus et facilis, non tamen usquequaque usus est, abstinuitque maxime in senatu; adeo quidem, ut monopolium nominaturus veniam prius postularet, quod sibi verbo peregrino utendum esset; atque etiam cum in quodam decreto patrum ἔμβλημα recitaretur, commutandam censuit vocem, et pro peregrina nostratem requirendam aut si non reperiretur, vel pluribus et per ambitum verborum rem enuntiandam. Militem quoque, Graece testimonium interrogatum, nisi Latine respondere vetuit.

A purist in language

72 Bis omnino toto secessus tempore Romam redire conatus (semel triremi usque ad proximos naumachiae hortos subvectus, disposita statione per ripas Tiberis, quae obviam prodeuntis submoveret, iterum Appia usque ad septimum lapidem) sed prospectis modo nec aditis urbis moenibus rediit; primo incertum qua de causa, postea ostento territus. Erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco, quem ex consuetudine manu sua cibaturus cum consumptum a formicis invenisset, monitus est ut vim multitudinis caveret. Rediens ergo propere Campaniam, Asturae in languorem incidit, quo paulum levatus Circeios pertendit. Ac ne quam suspicionem infirmitatis daret, castrensibus ludis non tantum interfuit, sed etiam missum in harenam aprum iaculis desuper petit; statimque latere convulso et, ut exaestuarat, afflatus aura in graviorem recidit morbum. Sustentavit tamen aliquamdiu, quamvis Misenum usque devectus nihil ex ordine cotidiano praetermitteret, ne convivia quidem aut ceteras voluptates, partim intemperantia partim dissimulatione. Nam Chariclen medicum, quod, commeatu afuturus, e convivio egrediens manum sibi osculandi causa

Failing health

apprehendisset, existimans temptatas ab eo venas, remanere ac recumbere hortatus est, cenamque protraxit. Nec abstinuit consuetudine quin tunc quoque instans in medio triclinio, astante lictore, singulos valere dicentis appellaret. Interim cum in actis senatus legisset, dimis- 73 sos ac ne auditos quidem quosdam reos, de quibus strictim et nihil aliud quam nominatos ab indice scripserat, pro contempto se habitum fremens repetere Capreas quoquo modo destinavit, non temere quicquam nisi ex tuto ausurus. Sed tempestatibus et ingravescente vi morbi

Death

retentus, paulo post obiit in villa Lucullana, octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno, tertio et vicesimo imperii, XVII Kal. Apr. Cn. Acerronio Proculo, C. Pontio Nigrino conss.

Rumors of violence done him

Sunt qui putent, venenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabificum; alii, in remissione fortuitae febris cibum desideranti negatum; nonnulli, pulvinum iniectum, cum extractum sibi deficienti anulum mox resipiscens requisisset. Seneca eum scribit, intellecta defectione, exemptum anulum quasi alicui traditurum parumper tenuisse, dein rursus aptasse digito, et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito vocatis ministris ac nemine respondente, consurrexisse, nec procul a lectulo deficientibus viribus concidisse.

Omens presaging death

Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitu- 74 dinis et artis eximiae, advectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca templi novi poneretur, viderat per quietem affirmantem sibi, non posse se ab ipso dedicari. Et ante paucos quam obiret dies turris Phari terrae motu Capreis concidit. Ac Miseni cinis e favilla et carbonibus ad calfaciendum triclinium inlatis, extinctus iam et diu frigidus, exarsit repente

prima vespera atque in multam noctem pertinaciter luxit.

75 Morte eius ita laetatus est populus, ut ad primum nuntium discurrentes pars, *Tiberium in Tiberim!* clamitarent, pars Terram matrem deosque Manes orarent, *ne mortuo sedem ullam nisi inter impios darent*, alii uncum et Gemonias cadaveri minarentur, exacerbati super memoriam pristinae crudelitatis etiam recenti atrocitate. Nam cum senatus consulto cautum esset ut poena damnatorum in decimum semper diem differretur, forte accidit ut quorundam supplicii dies is esset, quo nuntiatum de Tiberio erat. Hos implorantis hominum fidem, quia absente adhuc Gaio nemo exstabat qui adiri interpellarique posset, custodes, ne quid adversus constitutum facerent, strangulaverunt abieceruntque in Gemonias. Crevit igitur invidia, quasi etiam post mortem tyranni saevitia permanente. Corpus ut moveri a Miseno coepit, conclamantibus plerisque *Atellam potius deferendum et in amphitheatro semiustilandum*, Romam per milites deportatum est, crematumque publico funere.

General rejoicing at news of his death

76 Testamentum duplex ante biennium fecerat, alterum sua, alterum liberti manu, sed eodem exemplo, obsignaveratque etiam humillimorum signis. Eo testamento heredes aequis partibus reliquit Gaium ex Germanico et Tiberium ex Druso nepotes, substituitque in vicem; dedit et legata plerisque, inter quos virginibus Vestalibus, sed et militibus universis plebeique Romanae viritim, atque etiam separatim vicorum magistris.

His will

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER IV.

C. CALIGULA.

Germanicus, father of Gaius

Germanicus, C. Caesaris pater, Drusi et minoris Anto- 1
niae filius, a Tiberio patruo adoptatus, quaesturam quin-
quennio ante quam per leges liceret et post
eam consulatum statim gessit; missusque ad
exercitum in Germaniam, excessu Augusti
nuntiato, legiones universas, imperatorem Tiberium perti-
nacissime recusantis et sibi summam rei publicae defe-
rentis, incertum pietate an constantia maiore, compescuit,
atque hoste mox devicto triumphavit. Consul deinde
iterum creatus ac prius quam honorem iniret ad compo-
nendum Orientis statum expulsus, cum Armeniae regem
devicisset, Cappadociam in provinciae formam redegisset,
annum agens aetatis quartum et tricensimum diuturno
morbo Antiochiae obiit, non sine veneni suspicione. Nam
praeter livores, qui toto corpore erant, et spumas, quae
per os fluebant, cremati quoque cor inter ossa incorrup-
tum repertum est: cuius ea natura existimatur, ut tinc-
tum veneno igne confici nequeat. Obiit 2

His death

autem, ut opinio fuit, fraude Tiberi, ministerio
et opera Cn. Pisonis, qui sub idem tempus Syriae prae-
positus, nec dissimulans offendendum sibi aut patrem

aut filium, quasi plane ita necesse esset, etiam aegrum Germanicum gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus nullo adhibito modo adfecit; propter quae, ut Romam rediit, paene discerptus a populo, a senatu capitis
3 damnatus est. Omnes Germanico corporis animique virtutes, et quantas nemini cuiquam, contigisse satis constat: formam et fortitudinem egregiam, ingenium in utroque eloquentiae doctrinaeque genere praecellens, benevolentiam singularem, conciliandaeque hominum gratiae ac promerendi amoris mirum et efficax studium. Formae minus congruebat gracilitas crurum, sed ea quoque paulatim repleta assidua equi vectatione post cibum. Hostem comminus saepe percussit. Oravit causas etiam triumphalis; atque inter cetera studiorum monimenta reliquit et comoedias Graecas. Domi forisque civilis, libera ac foederata oppida sine lictoribus adibat. Sicubi clarorum virorum sepulcra cognosceret, inferias Manibus dabat. Caesorum clade Variana veteres ac dispersas reliquias uno tumulo humaturus, colligere sua manu et comportare primus adgressus est. Obtrectatoribus etiam, qualescumque et quantacumque de causa nanctus esset, lenis adeo et innoxius, ut Pisoni decreta sua rescindenti, clientelas divexanti, non prius suscensere in animum induxerit, quam veneficiis quoque et devotionibus impugnari se comperisset; ac ne tunc quidem ultra progressus, quam ut amicitiam ei more maiorum renuntiaret mandaretque domesticis
4 ultionem, si quid sibi accideret. Quarum virtutum fructum uberrimum tulit, sic probat[illegible]t dilectus a suis, ut Augustus, (omitto enim [illegible]essitudines reliquas) diu cunctatus an sibi successorem destinaret, adoptandum Tiberio dederit; sic vulgo favorabilis,

His noble qualities

His popularity

ut plurimi tradant, quotiens aliquo adveniret vel sicunde discederet, prae turba occurrentium prosequentiumve nonnumquam eum discrimen vitae adisse, e Germania vero post compressam seditionem revertenti praetorianas cohortes universas prodisse obviam, quamvis pronuntiatum esset ut duae tantum modo exirent, populi autem Romani sexum, aetatem, ordinem omnem usque ad vicesimum lapidem effudisse se. Tamen longe maiora et 5
firmiora de eo iudicia in morte ac post mortem exstiterunt.

Sorrow at news of his death

Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templa, subversae deum arae, Lares a quibusdam familiares in publicum abiecti, partus coniugum expositi. Quin et barbaros ferunt, quibus intestinum quibusque adversus nos bellum esset, velut in domestico communique maerore, consensisse ad indutias; regulos quosdam barbam posuisse et uxorum capita rasisse ad indicium maximi luctus; regum etiam regem et exercitatione venandi et convictu megistanum abstinuisse, quod apud Parthos iustitii instar est. Romae 6
quidem, cum ad primam famam valetudinis attonita et maesta civitas sequentis nuntios opperiretur et repente iam vesperi incertis auctoribus convaluisse tandem percrebruisset, passim cum luminibus et victimis in Capitolium concursum est ac paene revolsae templi fores, ne quid gestientis vota reddere moraretur; expergefactus e somno Tiberius gratulantium vocibus atque undique concinentium:

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Et ut demum fato functum palam factum est, non solaciis ullis, non edictis inhiberi luctus publicus potuit, duravitque etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies. Auxit gloriam desideriumque defuncti et atrocitas insequentium

temporum, cunctis nec temere opinantibus reverentia eius ac metu repressam Tiberi saevitiam, quae mox eruperit.

His wife and children

7 Habuit in matrimonio Agrippinam, M. Agrippae et Iuliae filiam, et ex ea novem liberos tulit: quorum duo infantes adhuc rapti, unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate, cuius effigiem habitu Cupidinis in aede Capitolinae Veneris Livia dedicavit, Augustus in cubiculo suo positam, quotiensque introiret, exosculabatur; ceteri superstites patri fuerunt, tres sexus feminini, Agrippina, Drusilla, Livilla, continuo triennio natae; totidem mares, Nero et Drusus et C. Caesar. Neronem et Drusum senatus Tiberio criminante hostes iudicavit.

Discussion as to birthplace of Gaius

8 C. Caesar natus est pridie Kal. Sept. patre suo et C. Fonteio Capitone coss. Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus Tiburi genitum scribit, Plinius Secundus in Treveris, vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes; addit etiam pro argumento, aras ibi ostendi inscriptas: *ob Agrippinae puerperium.* Versiculi imperante mox eo divulgati apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant:

In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis omen erat.

Ego in actis Anti editum invenio. Gaetulicum refellit Plinius quasi mentitum per adulationem, ut ad laudes iuvenis gloriosique principis aliquid etiam ex urbe Herculi sacra sumeret, abusumque audentius mendacio, quod ante annum fere natus Germanico filius Tiburi fuerat, appellatus et ipse C. Caesar; de cuius amabili pueritia immaturoque obitu supra diximus. Plinium arguit ratio

temporum. Nam qui res Augusti memoriae mandarunt, Germanicum exacto consulatu in Galliam missum consentiunt, iam nato Gaio. Nec Plini opinionem inscriptio arae quicquam adiuverit, cum Agrippina bis in ea regione filias enixa sit, et qualiscumque partus sine ullo sexus discrimine puerperium vocetur, quod antiqui etiam puellas pueras, sicut et pueros puellos dictitarent. Exstat et Augusti epistula, ante paucos quam obiret menses ad Agrippinam neptem ita scripta de Gaio hoc (neque enim quisquam iam alius infans nomine pari tunc supererat:) *Puerum Gaium XV Kal. Iun. si dii volent ut ducerent Talarius et Asillius, heri cum iis constitui. Mitto praeterea cum eo ex servis meis medicum, quem scripsi Germanico si vellet ut retineret. Valebis, mea Agrippina, et dabis operam ut valens pervenias ad Germanicum tuum.* Abunde parere arbitror, non potuisse ibi nasci Gaium, quo prope bimulus demum perductus ab urbe sit. Versiculorum quoque fidem eadem haec elevant et eo facilius, quod ii sine auctore sunt. Sequenda est igitur, quae sola restat publici instrumenti auctoritas, praesertim cum Gaius Antium, omnibus semper locis atque secessibus praelatum, non aliter quam natale solum dilexerit tradaturque etiam sedem ac domicilium imperii taedio urbis transferre eo destinasse.

Gaius the pet of the soldiers

9 Caligulae cognomen castrensi ioco traxit, quia manipulario habitu inter milites educabātur. Apud quos quantum praeterea per hanc nutrimentorum consuetudinem amore et gratia valuerit, maxime cognitum est cum post excessum Augusti tumultuantis et in furorem usque praecipites solus haud dubie et conspectu suo flexit. Non enim prius destiterunt, quam ablegari eum ob seditionis peri-

culum et in proximam civitatem demandari animadvertissent; tunc demum ad paenitentiam versi reprenso ac retento vehiculo, invidiam quae sibi fieret deprecati sunt.
10 Comitatus est patrem et Syriaca expeditione. Unde reversus primum in matris, deinde ea relegata in Liviae Augustae proaviae suae contubernio mansit; quam defunctam praetextatus etiam tunc pro rostris laudavit. Transiitque ad Antoniam aviam et undevicensimo aetatis anno, accitus Capreas a Tiberio, uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit barbamque posuit, sine ullo honore qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum eius. Hic omnibus insidiis temptatus elicientium cogentiumque se ad querelas, nullam umquam occasionem dedit, perinde obliterato suorum casu ac si nihil cuiquam accidisset; quae vero ipse pateretur, incredibili dissimulatione transmittens tantique in avum et qui iuxta erant obsequii, ut non immerito sit dictum, *nec servum meliorem*
11 *ullum, nec deteriorem dominum fuisse.* Naturam tamen saevam atque probrosam ne tunc quidem inhibere poterat, quin et animadversionibus poenisque ad supplicium datorum cupidissime interesset, et ganeas atque adulteria capillamento celatus et veste longa noctibus obiret, ac scaenicas saltandi canendique artes studiosissime appeteret; facile id sane Tiberio patiente, si per has mansuefieri posset ferum eius ingenium. Quod sagacissimus senex ita prorsus perspexerat, ut aliquotiens praedicaret, exitio suo omniumque Gaium vivere et se natricem [serpentis id genus] populo Romano Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.

His early years and character

Non ita multo post Iuniam Claudillam M. Silani no-
12 bilissimi viri filiam duxit uxorem. Deinde augur in locum fratris sui Drusi destinatus, prius quam inauguraretur ad pontificatum traductus est insigni testimonio pietatis

Marries Junia Claudilla

atque indolis, cum, deserta desolataque reliquis subsidiis aula, Seiano iam tunc suspecto mox et oppresso, ad spem successionis paulatim admoveretur. Quam quo magis confirmaret, amissa Iunia ex partu, Enniam Naeviam, Macronis uxorem, qui tum praetorianis cohortibus praeerat, sollicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus et matrimonium suum, si potitus imperio fuisset; deque ea re et iure iurando et chirographo cavit.

Murder of Tiberius attributed to him

Per hanc insinuatus Macroni, veneno Tiberium adgressus est, ut quidam opinantur, spirantique adhuc detrahi anulum et, quoniam suspicionem retinentis dabat, pulvinum iussit inici, atque etiam fauces manu sua oppressit, liberto, qui ob atrocitatem facinoris exclamaverat, confestim in crucem acto. Nec abhorret a veritate, cum sint quidam auctores, ipsum postea etsi non de perfecto, at certe de cogitato quondam parricidio professum; gloriatum enim assidue in commemoranda sua pietate, ad ulciscendam necem matris et fratrum introisse se cum pugione cubiculum Tiberii dormientis, et misericordia correptum abiecto ferro recessisse; nec illum, quamquam sensisset, aut inquirere quicquam aut exsequi ausum.

Popular joy at his accession

Sic imperium adeptus, populum Romanum (vel dicam 13
hominum genus?) voti compotem fecit, exoptatissimus princeps maximae parti provincialium ac militum, quod infantem plerique cognoverant; sed et universae plebi urbanae ob memoriam Germanici patris miserationemque prope afflictae domus. Itaque ut a Miseno movit quamvis lugentis habitu et funus Tiberi prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas ardentisque taedas densissimo et laetissimo obviorum agmine incessit, super fausta nomina sidus et pullum et pupum

14 et alumnum appellantium; ingressoque urbem, statim consensu senatus et irrumpentis in curiam turbae, inrita Tiberii voluntate, qui testamento alterum nepotum suum praetextatum adhuc coheredem ei dederat, ius arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est, tanta publica laetitia ut tribus proximis mensibus ac ne totis quidem supra centum sexaginta milia victimarum caesa tradantur.

Cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniae insulas traiecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt, ne minimam quidem occasionem quoquam omittente in testificanda sollicitudine et cura de incolumitate eius. Ut vero in adversam valetudinem incidit, pernoctantibus cunctis circa Palatium, non defuerunt qui depugnaturos se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent. Accessit ad immensum civium amorem notabilis etiam externorum favor. Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberi prae se ferens, amicitiam huius ultro petiit venitque ad colloquium legati consularis, et transgressus Euphraten aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.

Courts popularity

15 Incendebat et ipse studia hominum omni genere popularitatis. Tiberio cum plurimis lacrimis pro contione laudato funeratoque amplissime, confestim Pandatariam et Pontias ad transferendos matris fratrisque cineres festinavit, tempestate turbida, quo magis pietas emineret, adiitque venerabundus ac per semet in urnas condidit; nec minore scaena Ostiam, praefixo in biremis puppe vexillo, et inde Romam Tiberi subvectos, per splendidissimum quemque equestris ordinis medio ac frequenti die duobus ferculis Mausoleo intulit, inferiasque iis annua religione publice instituit, et eo amplius matri Circenses carpentumque quo in pompa

traduceretur; at in memoriam patris Septembrem mensem Germanicum appellavit. Post haec Antoniae aviae, quidquid umquam Livia Augusta honorum cepisset, uno senatus consulto congessit; patruum Claudium, equitem Romanum ad id tempus, collegam sibi in consulatu assumpsit; fratrem Tiberium die virilis togae adoptavit appellavitque principem iuventutis; de sororibus auctor fuit, ut omnibus sacramentis adiceretur: *neque me liberosque meos cariores habebo quam Gaium habeo et sorores eius;* item relationibus consulum: *quod bonum felixque sit C. Caesari sororibusque eius.*

Pari popularitate damnatos relegatosque restituit; criminum, si quae residua ex priore tempore manebant, omnium gratiam fecit; commentarios ad matris fratrumque suorum causas pertinentis, ne cui postmodum delatori aut testi maneret ullus metus, convectos in forum, et ante clare obtestatus deos neque legisse neque attigisse quicquam, concremavit; libellum de salute sua oblatum non recepit, contendens, *nihil sibi admissum cur cuiquam invisus esset,* negavitque se delatoribus aures habere. Spinthrias monstrosarum libidinum, aegre ne profundo 1

His reforms and benefactions

mergeret exoratus, urbe submovit. Titi Labieni, Cordi Cremuti, Cassi Severi scripta, senatus consultis abolita, requiri et esse in manibus lectitarique permisit, *quando maxime sua interesset ut facta quaeque posteris tradantur.* Rationes imperii, ab Augusto proponi solitas sed a Tiberio intermissas, publicavit. Magistratibus liberam iuris dictionem et sine sui appellatione concessit. Equites Romanos severe curioseque, nec sine moderatione, recognovit, palam adempto equo quibus aut probri aliquid aut ignominiae inesset, eorum qui minore culpa tenerentur nominibus

modo in recitatione praeteritis. Ut levior labor iudicantibus foret, ad quattuor prioris quintam decuriam addidit. Temptavit et comitiorum more revocato suffragia populo reddere. Legata ex testamento Tiberi quamquam abolito, sed et Iuliae Augustae, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide ac sine calumnia repraesentata persolvit. Ducentesimam auctionum Italiae remisit; multis incendiorum damna supplevit; ac si quibus regna restituit, adiecit et fructum omnem vectigaliorum et reditum medii temporis, ut Antiocho Commageno sestertium milies confiscatum. Quoque magis nullius non boni exempli fautor videretur, mulieri libertinae octoginta donavit, quod excruciata gravissimis tormentis de scelere patroni reticuisset. Quas ob res inter reliquos honores decretus est ei clipeus aureus, quem quotannis certo die collegia sacerdotum in Capitolium ferrent, senatu prosequente, nobilibusque pueris ac puellis carmine modulato laudes virtutum eius canentibus. Decretum autem ut dies, quo cepisset imperium, Parilia vocaretur, velut argumentum rursus conditae urbis.

His consulships

Consulatus quattuor gessit, primum ex Kal. Iul. per duos menses, secundum ex Kal. Ian. per xxx dies, tertium usque in Idus Ian., quartum usque septimum Idus easdem. Ex omnibus duos novissimos coniunxit. Tertium autem Luguduni iniit solus, non ut quidam opinantur superbia neglegentiave, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegam rescisse absens non potuerat. Congiarium populo bis dedit trecenos sestertios, totiens abundantissimum epulum senatui equestrique ordini, etiam coniugibus ac liberis utrorumque; posteriore epulo forensia insuper viris, feminis ac pueris fascias purpurae ac conchylii distribuit.

Et ut laetitiam publicam in perpetuum quoque augeret, adiecit diem Saturnalibus appellavitque Iuvenalem.

Munera gladiatoria, partim in amphitheatro Tauri par- 18
tim in Saeptis, aliquot edidit, quibus inseruit catervas Afrorum Campanorumque pugilum ex utraque regione electissimorum. Neque spectaculis semper ipse praesedit, sed interdum aut magistratibus aut amicis praesidendi munus iniunxit. Scaenicos ludos et assidue et varii generis ac multifariam fecit, quondam et nocturnos, accensis tota urbe luminibus. Sparsit et missilia variarum rerum, et panaria cum obsonio viritim divisit; qua epulatione equiti Romano contra se hilarius avidiusque vescenti partes suas misit, sed et senatori ob eandem causam codicillos, quibus praetorem eum extra ordinem designabat. Edidit et circenses plurimos a mane ad vesperam, interiecta modo Africanarum venatione modo Troiae decursione, et quosdam praecipuos, minio et chrysocolla constrato circo, nec ullis nisi ex senatorio ordine aurigantibus. Commisit et subitos, cum e Gelotiana apparatum circi prospicientem pauci ex proximis Maenianis postulassent.

His gladiatorial exhibitions

Novum praeterea atque inauditum genus spectaculi ex- 19
cogitavit. Nam Baiarum medium intervallum ad Puteolanas moles, trium milium et sescentorum fere passuum spatium, ponte coniunxit, contractis undique onerariis navibus et ordine duplici ad ancoras conlocatis, superiectoque aggere terreno ac directo in Appiae Viae formam. Per hunc pontem ultro citro commeavit biduo continenti, primo die phalerato equo insignisque quercea corona et caetra et gladio aureaque chlamyde, postridie quadrigario habitu curriculoque biiugi famosorum equorum, prae se ferens

His bridge from Baiae to Puteoli

Dareum puerum ex Parthorum obsidibus, comitante praetorianorum agmine et in essedis cohorte amicorum. Scio plerosque existimasse, talem a Gaio pontem excogitatum aemulatione Xerxis, qui non sine admiratione aliquanto angustiorem Hellespontum contabulaverit; alios, ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminebat, alicuius inmensi operis fama territaret. Sed avum meum narrantem puer audiebam, causam operis ab interioribus aulicis proditam, quod Thrasyllus mathematicus anxio de successore Tiberio et in verum nepotem proniori affirmasset, *non magis Gaium imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum.*

Games and contests in foreign cities

Edidit et peregre spectacula, in Sicilia Syracusis asticos ludos, et in Gallia Luguduni miscellos; sed hic certamen quoque Graecae Latinaeque facundiae, quo certamine ferunt victoribus praemia victos contulisse, eorundem et laudes componere coactos; eos autem, qui maxime displicuissent, scripta sua spongea linguave delere iussos, nisi ferulis obiurgari aut flumine proximo mergi maluissent.

Public works

Opera sub Tiberio semiperfecta, templum Augusti theatrumque Pompei, absolvit. Incohavit autem aquae ductum regione Tiburti et amphitheatrum iuxta Saepta, quorum operum a successore eius Claudio alterum peractum, omissum alterum est. Syracusis conlapsa vetustate moenia deorumque aedes refectae. Destinaverat et Sami Polycratis regiam restituere, Mileti Didymeum peragere, in iugo Alpium urbem condere, sed ante omnia Isthmum in Achaia perfodere, miseratque iam ad dimetiendum opus primipilarem. Hactenus quasi de principe; reliqua ut de monstro narranda sunt.

Titles, and assumption of divine honors

Compluribus cognominibus adsumptis (nam et *pius* et *castrorum filius* et *pater exercituum* et *optimus maximus Caesar* vocabatur) cum audiret forte reges, qui officii causa in urbem advenerant, concertantis apud se super cenam de nobilitate generis, exclamavit: Εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς! nec multum afuit quin statim diadema sumeret speciemque principatus in regni formam converteret. Verum admonitus, et principum et regum se excessisse fastigium, divinam ex eo maiestatem asserere sibi coepit; datoque negotio ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympii Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto suum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, atque aede Castoris et Pollucis in vestibulum transfigurata, consistens saepe inter fratres deos, medium adorandum se adeuntibus exhibebat; et quidam eum *Latiarem Iovem* consalutarunt. Templum etiam numini suo proprium et sacerdotes et excogitatissimas hostias instituit. In templo simulacrum stabat aureum iconicum, amiciebaturque cotidie veste, quali ipse uteretur. Magisteria sacerdotii ditissimus quisque et ambitione et licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant. Hostiae erant phoenicopteri, pavones, tetraones, numidicae meleagrides, phasianae, quae generatim per singulos dies immolarentur. Et noctibus quidem plenam fulgentemque lunam invitabat assidue in amplexus atque concubitum, interdiu vero cum Capitolino Iove secreto fabulabatur, modo insusurrans ac praebens in vicem aurem, modo clarius nec sine iurgiis. Nam vox comminantis audita est: Ἤ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σέ· donec exoratus, ut referebat, et in contubernium ultro invitatus, super templum Divi Augusti ponte transmisso,

Palatium Capitoliumque coniunxit. Mox, quo propior esset, in area Capitolina novae domus fundamenta iecit.

23 Agrippae se nepotem neque credi neque dici ob ignobilitatem eius volebat, suscensebatque, si qui vel oratione vel carmine imaginibus eum Caesarum insererent. Praedicabat autem matrem suam ex incesto, quod Augustus cum Iulia filia admisisset, procreatam; ac non contentus hac Augusti insectatione, Actiacas Siculasque victorias, ut funestas populo Romano et calamitosas, vetuit sollemnibus feriis celebrari. Liviam Augustam proaviam, Ulixem stolatum identidem appellans, etiam ignobilitatis quadam ad senatum epistula arguere ausus est, quasi materno avo decurione Fundano ortam; cum publicis monumentis certum sit, Aufidium Lurconem Romae honoribus functum. Aviae Antoniae secretum petenti denegavit, nisi ut interveniret Macro praefectus, ac per istius modi indignitates et taedia causa exstitit mortis, dato tamen, ut quidam putant, et veneno; nec defunctae ullum honorem habuit, prospexitque e triclinio ardentem rogum. Fratrem Tiberium inopinantem, repente immisso tribuno militum, interemit; Silanum item socerum ad necem secandasque novacula fauces compulit: causatus in utroque, quod hic ingressum se turbatius mare non esset secutus ac spe occupandi urbem, si quid sibi per tempestates accideret, remansiset; ille antidotum oboluisset, quasi ad praecavenda venena sua sumptum; cum et Silanus impatientiam nauseae vitasset et molestiam navigandi, et Tiberius propter assiduam et ingravescentem tussim medicamento usus esset. Nam Claudium patruum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit.

Heartless conduct toward his relatives

. . . . . .

26 Leve ac frigidum sit his addere, quo propinquos amicos-

que pacto tractaverit, Ptolemaeum regis Iubae filium, consobrinum suum, (erat enim et is M. Antonii ex Selene filia nepos) et in primis ipsum Macronem, ipsam Enniam, adiutores imperii: quibus omnibus pro necessitudinis iure proque meritorum gratia cruenta mors persoluta est.

Cruelty to senate, magistrates, and people

Nihilo reverentior leniorve erga senatum, quosdam summis honoribus functos ad essedum sibi currere togatos per aliquot passuum milia, et cenanti modo ad pluteum modo ad pedes stare succinctos linteo passus est; alios cum clam interemisset, citare nihilo minus ut vivos perseveravit, paucos post dies voluntaria morte perisse mentitus. Consulibus oblitis de natali suo edicere abrogavit magistratum, fuitque per triduum sine summa potestate res publica. Quaestorem suum in coniuratione nominatum flagellavit, veste detracta subiectaque militum pedibus, quo firme verberaturi insisterent.

Simili superbia violentiaque ceteros tractavit ordines. Inquietatus fremitu gratuita in circo loca de media nocte occupantium, omnis fustibus abegit; elisi per eum tumultum viginti amplius equites Romani, totidem matronae, super innumeram turbam ceteram. Scaenicis ludis, inter plebem et equitem causam discordiarum serens, decimas maturius dabat, ut equestria ab infimo quoque occuparentur. Gladiatorio munerere, ductis interdum flagrantissimo sole velis, emitti quemquam vetabat remotoque ordinario apparatu, tabidis feris vilissimos senioque confectos gladiatores,* quoque paegniariis patres familiarum notos sed insignis debilitate aliqua corporis obiciebat. Ac nonnumquam, horreis praeclusis, populo famem indixit.

Saevitiam ingenii per haec maxime ostendit. Cum ad 27

saginam ferarum muneri praeparatarum carius pecudes compararentur, ex noxiis laniandos adnotavit et custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantum modo intra porticum mediam, *a calvo ad calvum* duci imperavit.

Further examples of cruelty

Votum exegit ab eo, qui pro salute sua gladiatoriam operam promiserat, spectavitque ferro dimicantem, nec dimisit nisi victorem et post multas preces. Alterum, qui se periturum ea de causa voverat, cunctantem pueris tradidit; verbenatum infulatumque votum reposcentes per vicos agerent, quoad praecipitaretur ex aggere. Multos honesti ordinis, deformatos prius stigmatum notis, ad metalla et munitiones viarum aut ad bestias condemnavit, aut bestiarum more quadripedes cavea coercuit, aut medios serra dissecuit; nec omnes gravibus ex causis, verum male de munere suo opinatos, vel quod numquam per genium suum deierassent. Parentes supplicio filiorum interesse cogebat; quorum uni valetudinem excusanti lecticam misit, alium a spectaculo poenae epulis statim adhibuit atque omni comitate ad hilaritatem et iocos provocavit. Curatorem munerum ac venationum, per continuos dies in conspectu suo catenis verberatum, non prius occidit quam offensus putrefacti cerebri odore. Atellanae poetam ob ambigui ioci versiculum media amphitheatri harena igni cremavit. Equitem Romanum obiectum feris, cum
28 se innocentem proclamasset, reduxit, abscisaque lingua rursus induxit. Revocatum quendam a vetere exsilio sciscitatus, quidnam ibi facere consuesset, respondente eo per adulationem: *Deos semper oravi ut, quod evenit, periret Tiberius, et tu imperares,* opinans sibi quoque exsules suos mortem imprecari, misit circum insulas, qui universos contrucidarent. Cum discerpi senatorem concupisset,

subornavit, qui ingredientem curiam repente hostem publicum appellantes invaderent, graphiisque confossum lacerandum ceteris traderent; nec ante satiatus est quam membra et artus et viscera hominis tracta per vicos atque ante se congesta vidisset. Immanissima facta augebat 29
atrocitate verborum. Nihil magis in natura sua laudare se ac probare dicebat quam, ut ipsius verbo utar, ἀδιατρεψίαν [hoc est inverecundiam]. Monenti Antoniae aviae, tamquam parum esset non oboedire: *Memento* ait *omnia mihi et in omnis licere!* Trucidaturus fratrem, quem metu venenorum praemuniri medicamentis suspicabatur: *Antidotum* inquit *adversus Caesarem?* Relegatis sororibus *non solum insulas habere se, sed etiam gladios* minabatur. Praetorium virum ex secessu Anticyrae, quam valetudinis causa petierat, propagari sibi commeatum saepius desiderantem cum mandasset interimi, adiecit, *necessariam esse sanguinis missionem, cui tam diu non prodesset elleborum.* Decimo quoque die numerum puniendorum ex custodia subscribens, *rationem se purgare* dicebat. Gallis Graecisque aliquot uno tempore condemnatis, gloriabatur, *Gallograeciam se subegisse.* Non 30
temere in quemquam nisi crebris et minutis ictibus animadverti passus est, perpetuo notoque iam praecepto: *Ita feri ut se mori sentiat!* Punito per errorem nominis alio quam quem destinaverat, ipsum quoque paria meruisse dixit. Tragicum illud subinde iactabat:

Oderint, dum metuant!

Saepe in cunctos pariter senatores, ut Seiani clientis, ut matris ac fratrum suorum delatores, invectus est, prolatis libellis, quos crematos simulaverat, defensaque Tiberi saevitia quasi necessaria, cum tot criminantibus credendum esset. Equestrem ordinem ut scaenae harenaeque

devotum assidue proscidit. Infensus turbae faventi adversus studium suum, exclamavit: *Utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet!* Cumque Tetrinius latro postularetur, *et qui postularent, Tetrinios esse* ait. Retiarii tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant; cum occidi iuberentur, unus resumpta fuscina omnes victores interemit: hanc ut crudelissimam caedem et deflevit edicto
31 et eos, qui spectare sustinuissent, exsecratus est. Queri etiam palam de conditione temporum suorum solebat, quod nullis calamitatibus publicis insignirentur; Augusti principatum clade Variana, Tiberi ruina spectaculorum apud Fidenas memorabilem factum, suo oblivionem imminere prosperitate rerum; atque identidem exercituum caedes, famem, pestilentiam, incendia, hiatum aliquem terrae optabat.

32 Animum quoque remittenti ludoque et epulis dedito eadem factorum dictorumque saevitia aderat.

His diversions

Saepe in conspectu prandentis vel comissantis seriae quaestiones per tormenta habebantur, miles decollandi artifex quibuscumque e custodia capita amputabat. Puteolis dedicatione pontis, quem excogitatum ab eo significavimus, cum multos e litore invitasset ad se, repente omnis praecipitavit, quosdam gubernacula apprehendentes contis remisque detrusit in mare. Romae publico epulo servum ob detractam lectis argenteam laminam carnifici confestim tradidit, ut manibus abscisis atque ante pectus e collo pendentibus, praecedente titulo qui causam poenae indicaret, per coetus epulantium circumduceretur. Murmillonem e ludo, rudibus secum battuentem et sponte prostratum, confodit ferrea sica ac more victorum cum palma discucurrit. Admota

altaribus victima, succinctus poparum habitu elato alte subito malleo cultrarium mactavit. Lautiore convivio effusus in cachinnos, consulibus, qui iuxta cubabant, quidnam rideret, blande quaerentibus, *Quid*, inquit, *nisi uno meo nutu iugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse?* 33 Inter varios iocos, cum adsistens simulacro Iovis Apellen tragoedum consuluisset uter illi maior videretur, cunctantem flagellis discidit, conlaudans subinde vocem deprecantis quasi etiam in gemitu praedulcem. Quotiens uxoris vel amiculae collum exoscularetur, addebat: *Tam bona cervix simul ac iussero demetur.* Quin et subinde iactabat, *exquisiturum se vel fidiculis de Caesonia sua, cur eam tanto opere diligeret.*

Jealousy and malignity

34 Nec minore livore ac malignitate quam superbia saevitiaque paene adversus omnis aevi hominum genus grassatus est. Statuas virorum inlustrium, ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas, ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint, vetuitque posthac viventium cuiquam usquam statuam aut imaginem nisi consulto et auctore se poni. Cogitavit etiam de Homeri carminibus abolendis, *cur enim sibi non licere*, dicens, *quod Platoni licuisset, qui eum e civitate quam constituebat eiecerit?* Sed et Vergili ac Titi Livi scripta et imagines paulum afuit quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, quorum alterum ut nullius ingenii minimaeque doctrinae, alterum ut verbosum in historia neglegentemque carpebat. De iuris quoque consultis, quasi scientiae eorum omnem usum aboliturus, saepe iactavit, *se mehercule effecturum ne quid respondere possint praeter eum.* 35 Vetera familiarum insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit, Torquato torquem, Cincinnato crinem, Cn. Pom-

peio stirpis antiquae Magni cognomen. Ptolemaeum, de quo rettuli, et arcessitum e regno et exceptum honorifice, non alia de causa repente percussit, quam quod, edente se munus, ingressum spectacula convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpureae abollae animadvertit. Pulchros et comatos, quotiens sibi occurrerent, occipitio raso deturpabat. Erat Esius Proculus patre primipilari, ob egregiam corporis amplitudinem et speciem Colosseros dictus; hunc spectaculis detractum repente et in harenam deductum Thraeci et mox hoplomacho comparavit, bisque victorem constringi sine mora iussit et pannis obsitum vicatim circumduci ac mulieribus ostendi, deinde iugulari. Nullus denique tam abiectae condicionis tamque extremae sortis fuit, cuius non commodis obtrectaret. Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit. Cum quodam die muneris essedario Porio, ob prosperam pugnam servum suum manumittenti, studiosius plausum esset, ita proripuit se spectaculis, ut calcata lacinia togae praeceps per gradus iret, indignabundus et clamitans *dominum gentium populum ex re levissima plus honoris gladiatori tribuentem quam consecratis principibus aut praesenti sibi.*

. . . . . .

Prodigality

37 Nepotatus sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit, commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atque cenarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur, pretiosissima margarita aceto liquefacta sorberet, convivis ex auro panes et obsonia apponeret, *aut frugi hominem esse oportere* dictitans *aut Caesarem.* Quin et nummos non mediocris summae e fastigio basilicae Iuliae per aliquot

dies sparsit in plebem. Fabricavit et deceris Liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum et porticuum et tricliniorum laxitate magnaque etiam vitium et pomiferarum arborum varietate; quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac symphonias litora Campaniae peragraret. In exstructionibus praetoriorum atque villarum, omni ratione posthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur. Et iactae itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari, et excisae rupes durissimi silicis, et campi montibus aggere aequati, et complanata fossuris montium iuga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum morae culpa capite lueretur. Ac ne singula enumerem, immensas opes, totumque illud Ti. Caesaris vicies ac septies milies sestertium non toto vertente anno absumpsit.

Rapine and exactions

Exhaustus igitur atque egens ad rapinas convertit ani- 3
mum, vario et exquisitissimo calumniarum et auctionum et vectigalium genere. Negabat iure civitatem Romanam usurpare eos, quorum maiores sibi posterisque eam impetrassent, nisi si filii essent, neque enim intellegi debere posteros ultra hunc gradum; prolataque Divorum Iuli et Augusti diplomata ut vetera et obsoleta deflebat. Arguebat et perperam editos census, quibus postea quacumque de causa quicquam incrementi accessisset. Testamenta primipilarium, qui ab initio Tiberi principatus neque illum neque se heredem reliquissent, ut ingrata rescidit; item ceterorum ut irrita et vana, quoscumque quis diceret herede Caesare mori destinasse. Quo metu iniecto cum iam et ab ignotis inter familiares et a parentibus inter liberos palam heres nuncuparetur, derisores vocabat, quod post nuncupationem vivere perseverarent, et multis venenatas mat-

teas misit. Cognoscebat autem de talibus causis, taxato prius modo summae ad quem conficiendum consideret, confecto demum excitabatur. Ac ne paululum quidem morae patiens, super quadraginta reos quondam ex diversis criminibus una sententia condemnavit, gloriatusque est expergefacta e somno Caesonia, *quantum egisset, dum ea meridiaret.*

Auctione proposita, reliquias omnium spectaculorum subiecit ac venditavit, exquirens per se pretia et usque eo extendens, ut quidam immenso coacti quaedam emere ac bonis exuti venas sibi inciderent. Nota res est, Aponio Saturnino inter subsellia dormitante, monitum a Gaio praeconem ne praetorium virum crebro capitis motu nutantem sibi praeteriret, nec licendi finem factum, quoad tredecim gladiatores sestertium nonagies ignoranti addi-
39 cerentur. In Gallia quoque, cum damnatarum sororum ornamenta et supellectilem et servos atque etiam libertos immensis pretiis vendidisset, invitatus lucro, quidquid instrumenti veteris aulae erat ab urbe repetiit, comprensis ad deportandum meritoriis quoque vehiculis et pistrinensibus iumentis, adeo ut et panis Romae saepe deficeret et litigatorum plerique, quod occurrere absentes ad vadimonium non possent, causa caderent. Cui instrumento distrahendo nihil non fraudis ac lenocinii adhibuit, modo avaritiae singulos increpans et quod non puderet eos locupletiores esse quam se, modo paenitentiam simulans quod principalium rerum privatis copiam faceret. Compererat provincialem locupletem ducenta sestertia numerasse vocatoribus, ut per fallaciam convivio interponeretur, nec tulerat moleste tam magno aestimari honorem cenae suae; huic postero die sedenti in auctione misit, qui nescio quid

His auction-sales

frivoli ducentis milibus traderet diceretque, cenaturum apud Caesarem vocatu ipsius.

Imposition of taxes

40 Vectigalia nova atque inaudita primum per publicanos, deinde, quia lucrum exuberabat, per centuriones tribunosque praetorianos exercuit, nullo rerum aut hominum genere omisso, cui non tributi aliquid imponeret. Pro edulibus, quae tota urbe venirent, certum statumque exigebatur; pro litibus ac iudiciis ubicumque conceptis quadragesima summae, de qua litigaretur, nec sine poena, si quis composuisse vel donasse negotium convinceretur; ex gerulorum diurnis quaestibus pars octava. . . . 41 Eius modi vectigalibus indictis neque propositis, cum per ignorantiam scripturae multa commissa fierent, tandem flagitante populo proposuit quidem legem, sed et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco, uti ne cui describere liceret. Ac ne quod non manubiarum genus experiretur, lupanar in Palatio constituit, distinctisque et instructis pro loci dignitate compluribus cellis, in quibus matronae ingenuique starent, misit circum fora et basilicas nomenculatores ad invitandos ad libidinem iuvenes senesque; praebita advenientibus pecunia faenebris, appositique qui nomina palam subnotarent, quasi adiuvantium Caesaris reditus. Ac ne ex lusu quidem aleae compendium spernens, plus mendacio atque etiam periurio lucrabatur. Et quondam proximo conlusori demandata vice sua progressus in atrium domus, cum praetereuntis duos equites Romanos locupletis sine mora corripi confiscarique iussisset, exsultans rediit gloriansque, numquam se prosperiore alea usum.

42 Filia vero nata, paupertatem nec iam imperatoria modo sed et patria conquerens onera, conlationes in alimonium ac dotem puellae recepit. Edixit et strenas ineunte anno

Forced gifts

se recepturum stetitque in vestibulo aedium Kl. Ianuariis ad captandas stipes, quas plenis ante eum manibus ac sinu omnis generis turba fundebat. Novissime contrectandae pecuniae cupidine incensus, saepe super immensos aureorum acervos patentissimo diffusos loco et nudis pedibus spatiatus et toto corpore aliquamdiu volutatus est.

His military campaign

43 Militiam resque bellicas semel attigit, neque ex destinato, sed cum ad visendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam processisset, admonitus de supplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa se habebat, expeditionis Germanicae impetum cepit; neque distulit, sed legionibus et auxiliis undique excitis, dilectibus ubique acerbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis commeatu quanto numquam antea, iter ingressus est confecitque modo tam festinanter et rapide, ut praetorianae cohortes contra morem signa iumentis imponere et ita subsequi cogerentur, interdum adeo segniter et delicate, ut octaphoro veheretur, atque a propinquarum urbium plebe verri sibi vias et conspergi propter pulverem exigeret.

44 Postquam castra attigit, ut se acrem ac severum ducem ostenderet, legatos, qui auxilia serius ex diversis locis adduxerant, cum ignominia dimisit; at in exercitu recensendo, plerisque centurionum maturis iam, et nonnullis ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademit, causatus senium cuiusque et imbecillitatem; ceterorum increpita cupiditate, commoda emeritae militiae ad sescentorum * milium summam recidit. Nihil autem amplius quam Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio, qui pulsus a patre cum exigua manu transfugerat, in deditionem recepto, quasi universa tradita insula,

magnificas Romam litteras misit, monitis speculatoribus, ut vehiculo ad forum usque et curiam pertenderent, nec nisi in aede Martis ac frequente senatu consulibus traderent.

Mox, deficiente belli materia, paucos de custodia Ger- 45
manos traici occulique trans Rhenum iussit, ac sibi post prandium quam tumultuosissime adesse hostem nuntiari. Quo facto, proripuit se cum amicis et parte equitum praetorianorum in proximam silvam, truncatisque arboribus et in modum tropaeorum adornatis, ad lumina reversus, eorum quidem qui secuti non essent timiditatem et ignaviam corripuit, comites autem et participes victoriae novo genere ac nomine coronarum donavit, quas distinctas solis ac lunae siderumque specie exploratorias appellavit. Rursus obsides quosdam abductos e litterario ludo clamque praemissos, deserto repente convivio, cum equitatu insecutus veluti profugos ac reprehensos in catenis reduxit; in hoc quoque mimo praeter modum intemperans. Repetita cena, renuntiantis coactum agmen sicut erant loricatos ad discumbendum adhortatus est. Monuit etiam notissimo Vergili versu, *durarent secundisque se rebus servarent.*

Atque inter haec absentem senatum populumque gravissimo obiurgavit edicto, quod *Caesare proeliante et tantis discriminibus obiecto, tempestiva convivia, circum et theatra
et amoenos secessus celebrarent.* Postremo quasi perpetra- 46
turus bellum, directa acie in litore Oceani ac ballistis machinisque dispositis, nemine gnaro aut opinante quidnam coepturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent galeasque et sinus replerent imperavit, *spolia Oceani* vocans *Capitolio Palatioque debita,* et in indicium victoriae altissimam turrem excitavit, ex qua ut Pharo noctibus ad

regendos navium cursus ignes emicarent; pronuntiatoque militi donativo centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus *Abite*, inquit, *laeti, abite locupletes!*

His triumph

47 Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi, praeter captivos ac transfugas barbaros Galliarum quoque procerissimum quemque et (ut ipse dicebat) ἀξιοθριάμβευτον, ac nonnullos ex principibus legit ac seposuit ad pompam, coegitque non tantum rutilare et summittere comam, sed et sermonem Germanicum addiscere et nomina barbarica ferre. Praecepit etiam triremis, quibus introierat Oceanum, magna ex parte itinere terrestri Romam devehi. Scripsit et procuratoribus, triumphum appararent quam minima summa, sed quantus numquam alius fuisset, quando in omnium hominum bona ius haberent.

Plan to massacre legions and senate

48 Priusquam provincia decederet, consilium iniit nefandae atrocitatis, legiones, quae post excessum Augusti seditionem olim moverant, contrucidandi, quod et patrem suum Germanicum ducem et se infantem tunc obsedissent, vixque a tam praecipiti cogitatione revocatus, inhiberi nullo modo potuit quin decimare velle perseveraret. Vocatas itaque ad contionem inermes, atque etiam gladiis depositis, equitatu armato circumdedit. Sed cum videret suspecta re plerosque dilabi ad resumenda si qua vis fieret arma, profugit contionem confestimque urbem petit, deflexa omni acerbitate in senatum, cui ad avertendos tantorum dedecorum rumores palam minabatur; querens inter cetera fraudatum se iusto triumpho, cum ipse paulo ante, ne quid de honoribus suis ageretur, etiam sub
49 mortis poena denuntiasset. Aditus ergo in itinere a

legatis amplissimi ordinis ut maturaret orantibus, quam maxima voce *Veniam* inquit, *veniam, et hic mecum!* capulum gladii crebro verberans, quo cinctus erat. Edixit et *reverti se, sed iis tantum qui optarent, equestri ordini et populo; nam se neque civem neque principem senatui amplius fore.* Vetuit etiam quemquam senatorum sibi occurrere, atque omisso vel dilato triumpho ovans urbem natali suo ingressus est; intraque quartum mensem periit, ingentia facinora ausus et aliquanto maiora moliens. Siquidem proposuerat Antium, deinde Alexandream commigrare, interempto prius utriusque ordinis electissimo quoque. Quod ne cui dubium videatur, in secretis eius reperti sunt duo libelli diverso titulo; alteri gladius, alteri pugio index erat; ambo nomina et notas continebant morti destinatorum. Inventa et arca ingens variorum venenorum plena, quibus mox a Claudio demersis infecta maria traduntur, non sine piscium exitio, quos enectos aestus in proxima litora eiecit.

Physical appearance

Statura fuit eminenti, colore expallido, corpore enormi, 5
gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum, oculis et temporibus concavis, fronte lata et torva, capillo raro ac circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cetera. Quare transeunte eo prospicere ex superiore parte, aut omnino quacumque de causa capram nominare, criminosum et exitiale habebatur. Vultum vero natura horridum ac taetrum etiam ex industria efferabat, componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem.

Mental weakness

Valetudo ei neque corporis neque animi constitit. Puer comitiali morbo vexatus, in adulescentia ita patiens laborum erat, ut tamen nonnumquam subita defectione ingredi, stare, colligere semet ac sufferre vix posset. Mentis valetudinem et ipse

senserat ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit. Incitabatur insomnia maxime; neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quiescebat, ac ne iis quidem placida quiete, sed pavida miris rerum imaginibus, ut qui inter ceteras pelagi quondam speciem conloquentem secum videre visus sit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliae cubandique taedio nunc toro residens, nunc per longissimas porticus vagus invocare identidem atque exspectare lucem consuerat.

Timidity

51 Non immerito mentis valetudini attribuerim diversissima in eodem vitia, summam confidentiam et contra nimium metum. Nam qui deos tanto opere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura conivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero maiora proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat. Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi irrisis multum locorum miraculis, repente a Messana noctu profugit Aetnaei verticis fumo ac murmure pavefactus. Adversus barbaros quoque minacissimus, cum trans Rhenum inter angustias densumque agmen iter essedo faceret, dicente quodam non mediocrem fore consternationem sicunde hostis appareat, equum ilico conscendit ac propere reversus ad pontes, ut eos calonibus et impedimentis stipatos repperit, impatiens morae per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est. Mox etiam audita rebellione Germaniae, fugam et subsidia fugae classes apparabat, uno solacio adquiescens, transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas provincias, si victores Alpium iuga, ut Cimbri, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent; unde credo percussoribus eius postea consilium natum, apud tumultuantes milites emen-

tiendi, ipsum sibi manus intulisse nuntio malae pugnae perterritum.

His apparel

Vestitu calciatuque et cetero habitu neque patrio neque 52 civili, ac ne virili quidem ac denique humano semper usus est. Saepe depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas, manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit; aliquando sericatus et cycladatus; ac modo in crepidis vel cothurnis, modo in speculatoria caliga, nonnumquam socco muliebri; plerumque vero aurea barba, fulmen tenens aut fuscinam aut caduceum [deorum insignia] atque etiam Veneris cultu conspectus est. Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem assidue gestavit, interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem repetitum e conditorio eius.

Devotion to oratory

Ex disciplinis liberalibus minimum eruditioni, eloquen- 53 tiae plurimum attendit, quantumvis facundus et promptus, utique si perorandum in aliquem esset. Irato et verba et sententiae suppetebant, pronuntiatio quoque et vox, ut neque eodem loci prae ardore consisteret et exaudiretur a procul stantibus. Peroraturus, *stricturum se lucubrationis suae telum* minabatur; lenius comptiusque scribendi genus adeo contemnens, ut Senecam tum maxime placentem *commissiones meras* componere, et *harenam esse sine calce* diceret. Solebat etiam prosperis oratorum actionibus rescribere et magnorum in senatu reorum accusationes defensionesque meditari ac, prout stilus cesserat, vel onerare sententia sua quemque vel sublevare, equestri quoque ordine ad audiendum invitato per edicta.

Sed et aliorum generum artes studiosissime et diver- 54 sissimas exercuit. Thraex et auriga, idem cantor atque saltator, battuebat pugnatoriis armis, aurigabat exstructo

Other pursuits

plurifariam circo; canendi ac saltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem spectaculis temperaret quo minus et tragoedo pronuntianti concineret, et gestum histrionis quasi laudans vel corrigens palam effingeret. Nec alia de causa videtur eo die, quo periit, pervigilium indixisse quam ut initium in scaenam prodeundi licentia temporis auspicaretur. Saltabat autem nonnumquam etiam noctu; et quondam tres consulares secunda vigilia in Palatium accitos multaque et extrema metuentis super pulpitum conlocavit, dein repente magno tibiarum et scabellorum crepitu cum palla tunicaque talari prosiluit ac desaltato cantico abiit. Atque hic tam docilis ad cetera natare nesciit.

Indications of insanity

55 Quorum vero studio teneretur, omnibus ad insaniam favit. Mnesterem pantomimum etiam inter spectacula osculabatur, ac si qui saltante eo vel leviter obstreperet, detrahi iussum manu sua flagellabat. Equiti Romano tumultuanti per centurionem denuntiavit, abiret sine mora Ostiam perferretque ad Ptolemaeum regem in Mauritaniam codicillos suos; quorum exemplum erat: *Ei quem istoc misi, neque boni quicquam neque mali feceris!* Thraeces quosdam Germanis corporis custodibus praeposuit. Murmillonum armaturas recidit. Columbo victori, leviter tamen saucio, venenum in plagam addidit, quod ex eo Columbinum appellavit (sic certe inter alia venena scriptum ab eo repertum est); prasinae factioni ita addictus et deditus, ut cenaret in stabulo assidue et maneret. Agitatori Eutycho comissatione quadam in apophoretis vicies sestertium contulit. Incitato equo, cuius causa pridie circenses, ne inquietaretur, viciniae silentium per milites

indicere solebat, praeter equile marmoreum et praesepe eburneum praeterque purpurea tegumenta ac monilia e gemmis, domum etiam et familiam et supellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine eius invitati acciperentur; consulatum quoque traditur destinasse.

Conspiracies against his life

Ita bacchantem atque grassantem non defuit plerisque 56
animus adoriri. Sed una alteraque conspiratione detecta, aliis per inopiam occasionis cunctantibus, duo consilium communicaverunt perfeceruntque, non sine conscientia potentissimorum libertorum praefectorumque praetorii; quod ipsi quoque etsi falso in quadam coniuratione quasi participes nominati, suspectos tamen se et invisos sentiebant. Nam et statim seductis magnam fecit invidiam, destricto gladio affirmans *sponte se periturum, si et illis morte dignus videretur*, nec cessavit ex eo criminari alterum alteri atque inter se omnis committere.

Cum placuisset Palatinis ludis spectaculo egressum meridie adgredi, primas sibi partes Cassius Chaerea tribunus cohortis praetoriae depoposcit, quem Gaius seniorem iam ut mollem et effeminatum denotare omni probro consuerat et modo signum petenti Priapum aut Venerem dare, modo ex aliqua causa agenti gratias osculandam manum offerre formatam commotamque in obscenum modum.

Prodigies foreboding death

Futurae caedis multa prodigia exstiterunt. Olympiae 57
simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit, ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi. Capitolium Capuae Id. Mar. de caelo tactum est, item Romae

cella Palatini atriensis. Nec defuerunt qui coniectarent, altero ostento periculum a custodibus domino portendi, altero caedem rursus insignem, qualis eodem die facta quondam fuisset. Consulenti quoque de genitura sua Sulla mathematicus certissimam necem appropinquare affirmavit. Monuerunt et Fortunae Antiatinae, ut a Cassio caveret; qua causa ille Cassium Longinum Asiae tum proconsulem occidendum delegaverat, immemor Chaeream Cassium nominari. Pridie quam periret somniavit, consistere se in caelo iuxta solium Iovis, impulsumque ab eo dextri pedis pollice et in terras praecipitatum. Prodigiorum loco habita sunt etiam, quae forte illo ipso die paulo prius acciderant. Sacrificans respersus est phoenicopteri sanguine; et pantomimus Mnester tragoediam saltavit, quam olim Neoptolemus tragoedus ludis, quibus rex Macedonum Philippus occisus est, egerat; et cum in Laureolo mimo, in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scaena abundavit. Parabatur et in noctem spectaculum, quo argumenta inferorum per Aegyptios et Aethiopas explicarentur.

58 VIIII Kal. Febr. hora fere septima, cunctatus an ad prandium surgeret marcente adhuc stomacho pridiani cibi onere, tandem suadentibus amicis egressus est. Cum in crypta, per quam transeundum erat, pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scaena operas evocati praepararentur, ut eos inspiceret hortareturque restitit, ac nisi princeps gregis algere se diceret, redire ac repraesentare spectaculum voluit. Duplex dehinc fama est: alii tradunt adloquenti pueros a tergo Chaeream cervicem gladio caesim graviter percussisse, praemissa voce: *Hoc age!* dehinc Cornelium Sabi-

His assassination

num, alterum e coniuratis, tribunum ex adverso traiecisse pectus; alii Sabinum, summota per conscios centuriones turba, signum more militiae petisse, et Gaio Iovem dante Chaeream exclamasse: *Accipe ratum!* respicientique maxillam ictu discidisse. Iacentem contractisque membris clamitantem *se vivere* ceteri vulneribus triginta confecerunt; nam signum erat omnium: *Repete!* Quidam etiam per obscena ferrum adegerunt. Ad primum tumultum lecticarii cum asseribus in auxilium accucurrerunt, mox Germani corporis custodes, ac nonnullos ex percussoribus, quosdam etiam senatores innoxios interemerunt.

59 Vixit annis viginti novem, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo. Cadaver eius clam in hortos Lamianos asportatum, et tumultuario rogo semiambustum levi caespite obrutum est, postea per sorores ab exilio reversas erutum et crematum sepultumque. Satis constat, priusquam id fieret hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos; in ea quoque domo, in qua occubuerit, nullam noctem sine aliquo terrore transactam, donec ipsa domus incendio consumpta sit. Perit una et uxor Caesonia gladio a centurione confossa, et filia parieti inlisa.

Burial

60 Condicionem temporum illorum etiam per haec aestimare quivis possit. Nam neque caede vulgata statim creditum est, fuitque suspicio, ab ipso Gaio famam caedis simulatam et emissam, ut eo pacto hominum erga se mentes deprehenderet; neque coniurati cuiquam imperium destinaverunt; et senatus in asserenda libertate adeo consensit, ut consules primo non in curiam, quia Iulia vocabatur, sed in Capitolium convocarint, quidam vero

Desire of senate to restore republic

sententiae loco abolendam Caesarum memoriam ac diruenda templa censuerint. Observatum autem notatumque est in primis, Caesares omnes, quibus Gai praenomen fuerit, ferro perisse, iam inde ab eo, qui Cinnanis temporibus sit occisus.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER V.

DIVUS CLAUDIUS.

Drusus the father of Claudius

Patrem Claudi Caesaris Drusum, olim Decimum mox 1
Neronem praenomine, Livia, cum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit, fuitque suspicio, ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus:

Τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία.

Is Drusus in quaesturae praeturaeque honore dux Raetici, deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septemtrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit transque Rhenum fossas novi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur. Hostem etiam frequenter caesum ac penitus in intimas solitudines actum non prius destitit insequi, quam species barbarae mulieris, humana amplior, victorem tendere ultra sermone Latino prohibuisset. Quas ob res ovandi ius et triumphalia ornamenta percepit; ac post praeturam confestim inito consulatu atque expeditione repetita, supremum diem morbo obiit in aestivis castris, quae ex eo Scelerata sunt appellata. Corpus eius per municipiorum coloniarumque primores, suscipientibus

obviis scribarum decuriis, ad urbem devectum sepultumque est in campo Martio. Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent. Praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis Via Appia decrevit et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque eius. Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi; nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus; nec dissimulasse umquam pristinum se rei publicae statum, quandoque posset, restituturum. Unde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum Augusto revocatumque ex provincia et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis ne praetermitterem rettuli, quam quia verum aut veri simile putem, cum Augustus tanto opere et vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est, et defunctum ita pro contione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, *similes ei Caesares suos facerent, sibique tam honestum quandoque exitum darent quam illi dedissent.* Nec contentus elogium tumulo eius versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitae memoriam prosa oratione composuit.

Ex Antonia minore complures quidem liberos tulit, verum tres omnino reliquit: Germanicum, Livillam, Claudium.

Birth and early life of Claudius

2 Claudius natus est Iulio Antonio, Fabio Africano conss. Kl. Aug. Luguduni, eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est, appellatusque Tiberius Claudius Drusus. Mox fratre maiore in Iuliam familiam adoptato, Germanici cogno-

men assumpsit. Infans autem relictus a patre, ac per omne fere pueritiae atque adulescentiae tempus variis et tenacibus morbis conflictatus est, adeo ut animo simul et corpore hebetato, ne progressa quidem aetate ulli publico privatoque muneri habilis existimaretur. Diu atque etiam post tutelam receptam alieni arbitrii et sub paedagogo fuit; quem barbarum et olim superiumentarium ex industria sibi appositum, ut se quibuscumque de causis quam saevissime coerceret, ipse quodam libello conqueritur. Ob hanc eandem valetudinem et gladiatorio munere, quod simul cum fratre memoriae patris edebat, palliolatus novo more praesedit; et togae virilis die circa mediam noctem sine sollemni officio lectica in Capitolium latus est. Disciplinis tamen liberalibus ab aetate prima non mediocrem operam dedit ac saepe experimenta cuiusque etiam publicavit. Verum ne sic quidem quicquam dignitatis assequi aut spem de se commodiorem in posterum facere potuit.

An object of contempt in his family

Mater Antonia *portentum eum hominis* dictitabat, *nec absolutum a natura, sed tantum incohatum;* ac si quem socordiae argueret, *stultiorem* aiebat *filio suo Claudio.* Avia Augusta pro despectissimo semper habuit, non affari nisi rarissime, non monere nisi acerbo et brevi scripto aut per internuntios solita. Soror Livilla cum audisset quandoque imperaturum, tam iniquam et tam indignam sortem populi Romani palam et clare detestata est. Nam avunculus maior Augustus quid de eo in utramque partem opinatus sit, quo certius cognoscatur, capita ex ipsius epistulis posui:

Collocutus sum cum Tiberio, ut mandasti, mea Livia, quid nepoti tuo Tiberio faciendum esset ludis Martialibus.

Extracts from letters of Augustus treating of Claudius

Consentit autem uterque nostrum, semel nobis esse statuendum, quod consilium in illo sequamur. Nam si est artius, (ut ita dicam) holocleros, quid est quod dubitemus, quin per eosdem articulos et gradus producendus sit, per quos frater eius productus sit? Sin autem ἠλαττῶσθαι *sentimus eum et* βεβλάφθαι καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρτιότητα, *praebenda materia deridendi et illum et nos non est hominibus* τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκτηρίζειν εἰωθόσιν. *Nam semper aestuabimus, si de singulis articulis temporum deliberabimus,* μὴ προϋποκειμένου ἡμῖν *posse arbitremur eum gerere honores, necne. In praesentia tamen quibus de rebus consulis, curare eum ludis Martialibus triclinium sacerdotum non displicet nobis, si est passurus se ab Silani filio homine sibi affini admoneri, ne quid faciat quod conspici et derideri possit. Spectare eum circenses ex pulvinari, non placet nobis; expositus enim in fronte prima spectaculorum, conspicietur. In Albanum montem ire eum, non placet nobis, aut esse Romae Latinarum diebus. Cur enim non praeficitur urbi, si potest sequi fratrem suum in montem? Habes nostras, mea Livia, sententias, quibus placet semel de tota re aliquid constitui, ne semper inter spem et metum fluctuemur. Licebit autem, si voles, Antoniae quoque nostrae des hanc partem epistulae huius legendam.* Rursus alteris litteris:

Tiberium adulescentem ego vero, dum tu aberis, cotidie invitabo ad cenam, ne solus cenet cum suo Sulpicio et Athenodoro. Qui vellem diligentius et minus μετεώρως *deligeret sibi aliquem, cuius motum et habitum et incessum imitaretur. Misellus* ἀτυχεῖ· *nam* ἐν τοῖς σπουδαίοις, *ubi non aberravit eius animus, satis apparet* ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ εὐγένεια. Item tertiis litteris:

Tiberium nepotem tuum placere mihi declamantem potuisse, peream nisi, mea Livia, admiror. Nam qui tam ἀσαφῶς loquatur, qui possit cum declamat σαφῶς dicere quae dicenda sunt, non video.

Nec dubium est, quid post haec Augustus constituerit et reliquerit eum nullo praeter auguralis sacerdotii honore impertitum, ac ne heredem quidem nisi inter tertios ac paene extraneos e parte sexta nuncuparit, legato quoque non amplius quam octingentorum sestertiorum prosecutus.

Tiberius patruus petenti honores consularia ornamenta 5
detulit; sed instantius legitimos flagitanti id solum codicillis rescripsit, *quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia et Sigillaria misisse ei.* Tunc demum, abiecta spe dignitatis, ad otium concessit, modo in hortis et suburbano modo in Campaniae secessu delitescens, atque ex contubernio sordidissimorum hominum super veterem segnitiae notam ebrietatis quoque et aleae infamiam subiit.

Denied office by Tiberius

Cum interim, quamquam hoc modo agenti, numquam 6
aut officium hominum aut reverentia publice defuit. Equester ordo bis patronum eum perferendae pro se legationis elegit, semel cum deportandum Romam corpus Augusti umeris suis ab consulibus exposceret, iterum cum oppressum Seianum apud eosdem gratularetur; quin et spectaculis advenienti assurgere et lacernas deponere solebat. Senatus quoque, ut ad numerum sodalium Augustalium sorte ductorum extra ordinem adiceretur, censuit et mox ut domus ei, quam incendio amiserat, publica impensa restitueretur, dicendaeque inter consulares sententiae ius esset. Quod decretum abolitum est, excusante Tiberio

Honored by equestrian order and senate

imbecillitatem eius ac damnum liberalitate sua resarturum pollicente. Qui tamen moriens et in tertiis heredibus eum ex parte tertia nuncupatum, legato etiam circa sestertium vicies prosecutus commendavit insuper exercitibus ac senatui populoque Romano inter ceteras necessitudines nominatim.

Consul under Gaius

7 Sub Gaio demum fratris filio, secundam existimationem circa initia imperii omnibus lenociniis colligente, honores auspicatus consulatum gessit una per duos menses, evenitque ut primitus ingredienti cum fascibus forum praetervolans aquila dexteriore umero consideret. Sortitus est et de altero consulatu in quartum annum; praeseditque nonnumquam spectaculis in Gai vicem, acclamante populo: *Feliciter partim patruo imperatoris partim Germanici fratri!* Nec

Subjected to insults and danger

8 eo minus contumeliis obnoxius vixit. Nam et si paulo serius ad praedictam cenae horam occurrisset, nonnisi aegre et circuito demum triclinio recipiebatur, et quotiens post cibum addormisceret, quod ei fere accidebat, olearum aut palmularum ossibus incessebatur, interdum ferula flagrove velut per ludum excitabatur a copreis. Solebant et manibus stertentis socci induci, ut repente expergefactus faciem sibimet confricaret.

9 Sed ne discriminibus quidem caruit. Primum in ipso consulatu, quod Neronis et Drusi, fratrum Caesaris, statuas segnius locandas ponendasque curasset, paene honore summotus est; deinde extraneo vel etiam domesticorum aliquo deferente assidue varieque inquietatus. Cum vero detecta esset Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio, missus in Germaniam inter legatos ad gratulandum, etiam vitae periculum adiit, indignante ac fremente Gaio patruum

potissimum ad se missum quasi ad puerum regendum, adeo ut non defuerint, qui traderent praecipitatum quoque in flumen, sicut vestitus advenerat. Atque ex eo numquam non in senatu novissimus consularium sententiam dixit, ignominiae causa post omnis interrogatus. Etiam cognitio falsi testamenti recepta est, in quo et ipse signaverat. Postremo sestertium octogies pro introitu novi sacerdotii coactus impendere, ad eas rei familiaris angustias decidit, ut cum obligatam aerario fidem liberare non posset, in vacuum lege praediatoria venalis pependerit sub edicto praefectorum. Per haec ac talia 10

Accession

maxima aetatis parte transacta, quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit quantumvis mirabili casu. Exclusus inter ceteros ab insidiatoribus Gai, cum, quasi secretum eo desiderante, turbam submoverent, in diaetam, cui nomen est Hermaeum, recesserat; neque multo post rumore caedis exterritus, prorepsit ad solarium proximum interque praetenta foribus vela se abdidit. Latentem discurrens forte gregarius miles, animadversis pedibus, e studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, adgnovit, extractumque et prae metu ad genua sibi accidentem imperatorem salutavit. Hinc ad alios commilitones fluctuantis nec quicquam adhuc quam frementis perduxit. Ab his lecticae impositus et, quia sui diffugerant, vicissim succollantibus in castra delatus est tristis ac trepidus, miserante obvia turba quasi ad poenam raperetur insons. Receptus intra vallum, inter excubias militum pernoctavit, aliquanto minore spe quam fiducia. Nam consules cum senatu et cohortibus urbanis forum Capitoliumque occupaverant, asserturi communem libertatem; accitusque et ipse per tribunos plebis in curiam ad suadenda quae viderentur, *vi se et necessitate teneri* respondit. Verum postero die, et

senatu segniore in exsequendis conatibus per taedium ac dissensionem diversa censentium, et multitudine quae circumstabat unum rectorem iam et nominatim exposcente, armatos pro contione iurare in nomen suum passus est promisitque singulis quina dena sestertia, primus Caesarum fidem militis etiam praemio pigneratus.

First acts

11 Imperio stabilito, nihil antiquius duxit quam id biduum, quo de mutando rei publicae statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere. Omnium itaque factorum dictorumque in eo veniam et oblivionem in perpetuum sanxit ac praestitit, tribunis modo ac centurionibus paucis e coniuratorum in Gaium numero interemptis, exempli simul causa et quod suam quoque caedem depoposcisse cognoverat. Conversus hinc ad officia pietatis, ius iurandum neque sanctius sibi neque crebrius instituit quam per Augustum. Aviae Liviae divinos honores et circensi pompa currum elephantorum, Augustino similem, decernenda curavit; parentibus inferias publicas, et hoc amplius patri circenses annuos natali die; matri carpentum, quo per circum duceretur, et cognomen Augustae, ab viva recusatum. Ad fratris memoriam, per omnem occasionem celebratam, comoediam quoque Graecam Neapolitano certamine docuit ac de sententia iudicum coronavit. Ne Marcum quidem Antonium inhonoratum ac sine grata mentione transmisit, testatus quondam per edictum, tanto impensius petere se ut natalem patris Drusi celebrarent, quod idem esset et avi sui Antonii. Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum, peregit. Gai quoque etsi acta omnia rescidit, diem tamen necis, quamvis exordium principatus sui, vetuit inter festos referri.

12 At in semet augendo parcus atque civilis, praenomine Imperatoris abstinuit, nimios honores recusavit, sponsalia filiae natalemque geniti nepotis silentio ac tantum domestica religione transegit. Neminem exsulum nisi ex senatus auctoritate restituit. Ut sibi in curiam praefectum praetorii tribunosque militum secum inducere liceret, utque rata essent quae procuratores sui in iudicando statuerent, precario exegit. Ius nundinarum in privata praedia a consulibus petit. Cognitionibus magistratuum ut unus e consiliariis frequenter interfuit; eosdem spectacula edentis surgens et ipse cum cetera turba voce ac manu veneratus est. Tribunis plebis adeuntibus se pro tribunali excusavit, quod propter angustias non posset audire eos nisi stantes. Quare in brevi spatio tantum amoris favorisque collegit, ut cum profectum eum Ostiam perisse ex insidiis nuntiatum esset, magna consternatione populus et militem quasi proditorem, et senatum quasi parricidam diris execrationibus incessere non ante destiterit, quam unus atque alter et mox plures, a magistratibus in rostra producti, salvum et appropinquare affirmarent.

Unassuming conduct

13 Nec tamen expers insidiarum usquequaque permansit, sed et a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello infestatus est. E plebe homo nocte media iuxta cubiculum eius cum pugione deprehensus est; reperti et equestris ordinis duo in publico cum dolone ac venatorio cultro praestolantes, alter ut egressum theatro, alter ut sacrificantem apud Martis aedem adoreretur. Conspiraverunt autem ad res novas Gallus Asinius et Statilius Corvinus, Pollionis ac Messalae oratorum nepotes, assumptis compluribus libertis ipsius atque servis. Bellum civile movit Furius

Conspiracies against him

Camillus Scribonianus, Delmatiae legatus; verum intra quintum diem oppressus est, legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam, denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere, casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquilae ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt.

Subsequent consulships; devotion to judicial duties

4 Consulatus super pristinum quattuor gessit; ex quibus duo primos iunctim, sequentis per intervallum, quarto quemque anno, semenstrem novissimum, bimenstris ceteros, tertium autem, novo circa principem exemplo, in locum demortui suffectus. Ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus, nonnumquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis. Nec semper praescripta legum secutus, duritiam lenitatemve multarum ex bono et aequo, perinde ut adficeretur, moderatus est; nam et iis, qui apud privatos iudices plus petendo formula excidissent, restituit actiones, et in maiore fraude convictos, legitimam poenam
5 supergressus ad bestias condemnavit. In cognoscendo autem ac decernendo mira varietate animi fuit, modo circumspectus et sagax, interdum inconsultus ac praeceps, nonnumquam frivolus amentique similis. Cum decurias rerum actu expungeret, eum, qui dissimulata vacatione quam beneficio liberorum habebat responderat, ut cupidum iudicandi dimisit; alium interpellatum ab adversariis de propria lite, negantemque cognitionis rem, sed ordinarii iuris esse, agere causam confestim apud se coegit, *proprio negotio documentum daturum, quam aequus iudex in alieno negotio futurus esset.* Feminam non agnoscentem filium suum, dubia utrimque argumentorum fide, ad confes-

Character as Judge

sionem compulit indicto matrimonio iuvenis. Absentibus secundum praesentes facillime dabat, nullo delectu, culpane quis an aliqua necessitate cessasset. Proclamante quodam, praecidendas falsario manus, carnificem statim acciri cum machaera mensaque lanionia flagitavit. Peregrinitatis reum, orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret, quasi aequitatem integram ostentans, mutare habitum saepius et prout accusaretur defendereturve, iussit. De quodam etiam negotio ita ex tabella pronuntiasse creditur, *secundum eos se sentire, qui vera proposuissent.* Propter quae usque eo eviluit, ut passim ac propalam contemptui esset. Excusans quidam testem e provincia ab eo vocatum negavit praesto esse posse, dissimulata diu causa; ac post longas demum interrogationes *Mortuus est*, inquit: *puto, licuit.* Alius gratias agens, quod reum defendi pateretur, adiecit: *Et tamen fieri solet.* Illud quoque a maioribus natu audiebam, adeo causidicos patientia eius solitos abuti, ut descendentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso detinerent. Ac ne cui haec mira sint, litigatori Graeculo vox in altercatione excidit: Καὶ σὺ γέρων εἶ καὶ μωρός. Equitem quidem Romanum obscenitatis in feminas reum, sed falso et ab impotentibus inimicis conficto crimine, satis constat, cum scorta meritoria citari adversus se et audiri pro testimonio videret, graphium et libellos, quos tenebat in manu, ita cum magna stultitiae et saevitiae exprobratione iecisse in faciem eius, ut genam non leviter perstrinxerit.

Gessit et censuram, intermissam diu post Plancum **16**
Paulumque censores; sed hanc quoque inaequabiliter varioque et animo et eventu. Recognitione equitum

iuvenem probri plenum, sed quem pater probatissimum sibi affirmabat, sine ignominia dimisit, *habere* dicens *censorem suum;* alium corruptelis adulteriisque famosum nihil amplius quam monuit, *ut aut parcius aetatulae indulgeret aut certe cautius;* addiditque: *Quare enim ego scio, quam amicam habeas?* Et cum, orantibus familiaribus, dempsisset cuidam appositam notam, *Litura tamen,* inquit, *exstet!* Splendidum virum Graeciaeque provinciae principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo iudicum erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit. Nec quemquam nisi sua voce, utcumque quis posset, ac sine patrono rationem vitae passus est reddere. Notavitque multos, et quosdam inopinantis et ex causa novi generis, quod se inscio ac sine commeatu Italia excessissent; quendam vero et quod comes regis in provincia fuisset, referens, maiorum temporibus Rabirio Postumo, Ptolemaeum Alexandriam crediti servandi causa secuto, crimen maiestatis apud iudices motum. Plures notare conatus, magna inquisitorum neglegentia sed suo maiore dedecore, innoxios fere repperit, quibuscumque caelibatum aut orbitatem aut egestatem obiceret, maritos, patres, opulentos se probantibus; eo quidem, qui sibimet vim ferro intulisse arguebatur, illaesum corpus veste deposita ostentante. Fuerunt et illa in censura eius notabilia, quod essedum argenteum, sumptuose fabricatum ac venale ad Sigillaria, redimi concidique coram imperavit; quodque uno die XX edicta proposuit, inter quae duo, quorum altero admonebat, ut uberi vinearum proventu bene dolia picarentur; altero, nihil aeque facere ad viperae morsum quam taxi arboris sucum.

Censorship

17 Expeditionem unam omnino suscepit, eamque modicam. Cum, decretis sibi a senatu ornamentis triumphalibus,

leviorem maiestati principali titulum arbitraretur velletque iusti triumphi decus, unde adquireret Britanniam potissimum elegit, neque temptatam ulli post Divum Iulium et tunc tumultuantem ob non redditos transfugas. Huc cum ab Ostia navigaret, vehementi circio bis paene demersus est, prope Liguriam iuxtaque Stoechadas insulas. Quare a Massilia Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere confecto, inde transmisit, ac sine ullo proelio aut sanguine intra paucissimos dies parte insulae in deditionem recepta, sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit, triumphavitque maximo apparatu. Ad cuius spectaculum commeare in urbem non solum praesidibus provinciarum permisit, verum etiam exsulibus quibusdam; atque inter hostilia spolia navalem coronam fastigio Palatinae domus iuxta civicam fixit, traiecti et quasi domiti Oceani insigne. Currum eius Messalina uxor carpento secuta est; secuti et triumphalia ornamenta eodem bello adepti, sed ceteri pedibus et in praetexta, Crassus Frugi equo phalerato et in veste palmata, quod eum honorem iteraverat.

Invasion of Britain

Urbis annonaeque curam sollicitissime semper egit. 18
Cum Aemiliana pertinacius arderent, in diribitorio duabus noctibus mansit, ac deficiente militum ac familiarum turba, auxilio plebem per magistratus ex omnibus vicis convocavit ac positis ante se cum pecunia fiscis, ad subveniendum hortatus est, repraesentans pro opera dignam cuique mercedem. Artiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates, detentus quondam medio foro a turba conviciisque et simul fragminibus panis ita infestatus, ut aegre nec nisi postico evadere in Palatium valuerit, nihil non excogitavit ad invehendos etiam tempore hiberno commeatus. Nam et negotia-

Care of the city

toribus certa lucra proposuit, suscepto in se damno, si cui quid per tempestates accidisset, et naves mercaturae causa fabricantibus magna commoda constituit pro con-
19 dicione cuiusque; civi vacationem legis Papiae Poppaeae, Latino ius Quiritium, feminis ius quattuor liberorum; quae constituta hodieque servantur.

Public works

20 Opera magna potiusquam necessaria et multa perfecit, sed vel praecipua: ductum aquarum a Gaio incohatum, item emissarium Fucini lacus portumque Ostiensem, quamquam sciret ex iis alterum ab Augusto precantibus assidue Marsis negatum, alterum a Divo Iulio saepius destinatum ac propter difficultatem omissum. Claudiae aquae gelidos et uberes fontes, quorum alteri Caeruleo, alteri Curtio et Albudigno nomen est, simulque rivum Anienis novi lapideo opere in urbem perduxit, divisitque in plurimos et ornatissimos lacus. Fucinum adgressus est, non minus compendii spe quam gloriae, cum quidam privato sumptu emissuros se repromitterent, si sibi siccati agri concederentur. Per tria autem passuum milia partim effosso monte partim exciso, canalem absolvit aegre et post undecim annos, quamvis continuis XXX hominum milibus sine intermissione operantibus. Portum Ostiae exstruxit, circumducto dextra sinistraque brachio et ad introitum profundo iam salo mole obiecta; quam quo stabilius fundaret, navem ante demersit, qua magnus obeliscus ex Aegypto fuerat advectus, congestisque pilis superposuit altissimam turrem in exemplum Alexandrini Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursum navigia dirigerent.

21 Congiaria populo saepius distribuit. Spectacula quoque complura et magnifica edidit, non usitata modo ac solitis locis, sed et commenticia et ex antiquitate repetita, et

Spectacles and games

ubi praeterea nemo ante eum. Ludos dedicationis Pompeiani theatri, quod ambustum restituerat, e tribunali posito in orchestra commisit, cum prius apud superiores aedes supplicasset, perque mediam caveam, sedentibus ac silentibus cunctis, descendisset. Fecit et Saeculares, quasi anticipatos ab Augusto nec legitimo tempori reservatos, quamvis ipse in historiis suis prodat, intermissos eos Augustum multo post, diligentissime annorum ratione subducta, in ordinem redegisse. Quare vox praeconis irrisa est, invitantis more sollemni ad ludos, *quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset,* cum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, et quidam histrionum producti olim tunc quoque producerentur. Circenses frequenter etiam in Vaticano commisit, nonnumquam interiecta per quinos missus venatione. Circo vero Maximo marmoreis carceribus auratisque metis, quae utraque et tofina ac lignea antea fuerant, exculto, propria senatoribus constituit loca, promiscue spectare solitis; ac super quadrigarum certamina Troiae lusum exhibuit et Africanas, conficiente turma equitum praetorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsoque praefecto; praeterea Thessalos equites, qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt.

Gladiatoria munera plurifariam ac multiplicia exhibuit: anniversarium in castris praetorianis sine venatione apparatuque, iustum atque legitimum in Saeptis; ibidem extraordinarium et breve dierumque paucorum, quodque appellare coepit *sportulam,* quia primum daturus edixerat, *velut ad subitam condictamque cenulam invitare se populum.* Nec ullo spectaculi genere communior aut remissior erat, adeo ut oblatos victoribus aureos prolata sinistra

pariter cum vulgo voce digitisque numeraret, ac saepe hortando rogandoque ad hilaritatem homines provocaret, dominos identidem appellans, immixtis interdum frigidis et arcessitis iocis; qualis est ut cum Palumbum postulantibus *daturum se* promisit, *si captus esset.* Illud plane quantumvis salubriter et in tempore: cum essedario, pro quo quattuor filii deprecabantur, magno omnium favore indulsisset rudem, tabulam ilico misit admonens populum, *quanto opere liberos suscipere deberet, quos videret et gladiatori praesidio gratiaeque esse.* Edidit et in Martio campo expugnationem direptionemque oppidi ad imaginem bellicam et deditionem Britanniae regum, praeseditque paludatus. Quin et emissurus Fucinum lacum naumachiam ante commisit. Sed cum proclamantibus naumachiariis, *Have imperator, morituri te salutant!* respondisset, *Aut non!* neque post hanc vocem quasi venia data quisquam dimicare vellet, diu cunctatus an omnis igni ferroque absumeret, tandem e sede sua prosiluit ac per ambitum lacus non sine foeda vacillatione discurrens, partim minando partim adhortando ad pugnam compulit. Hoc spectaculo classis Sicula et Rhodia concurrerunt, duodenarum triremium singulae, exciente bucina Tritone argenteo, qui e medio lacu per machinam emerserat.

Civil and religious reforms

22 Quaedam circa caerimonias civilemque et militarem morem, item circa omnium ordinum statum domi forisque aut correxit, aut exoleta revocavit, aut etiam nova instituit. In cooptandis per collegia sacerdotibus neminem nisi iuratus nominavit; observavitque sedulo, ut, quotiens terra in urbe movisset, ferias advocata contione praetor indiceret, utque, dira ave in Capitolio visa, obsecratio haberetur,

eamque ipse iure maximi pontificis pro rostris populo praeiret summotaque operariorum servorumque turba.

Rerum actum, divisum antea in hibernos aestivosque 23
menses, coniunxit. Iuris dictionem de fidei commissis,

Judicial reforms

quotannis et tantum in urbe delegari magistratibus solitam, in perpetuum atque etiam per provincias potestatibus demandavit. Capiti Papiae Poppaeae legis a Tiberio Caesare, quasi sexagenarii generare non possent, addito obrogavit. Sanxit ut pupillis extra ordinem tutores a consulibus darentur, utque ii, quibus a magistratibus provinciae interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia summoverentur. Ipse quosdam novo exemplo relegavit, ut ultra lapidem tertium vetaret egredi ab urbe.

De maiore negotio acturus in curia, medius inter consulum sellas tribunicio subsellio sedebat. Commeatus a

Official reforms

senatu peti solitos beneficii sui fecit. Orna- 24
menta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit. Senatoriam dignitatem recusantibus equestrem quoque ademit. Latum clavum, quamvis initio affirmasset non lecturum se senatorem nisi civis Romani abnepotem, etiam libertini filio tribuit, sed sub condicione si prius ab equite Romano adoptatus esset; ac sic quoque reprehensionem verens, et Appium Caecum censorem, generis sui proauctorem, libertinorum filios in senatum adlegisse docuit, ignarus, temporibus Appi et deinceps aliquamdiu libertinos dictos non ipsos, qui manu emitterentur, sed ingenuos ex his procreatos. Collegio quaestorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorium munus iniunxit detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia, curam aerarii Saturni reddidit, quam medio tempore praetores aut, uti nunc, praetura functi sustinuerant.

Triumphalia ornamenta Silano, filiae suae sponso, nondum puberi dedit, maioribus vero natu tam multis tamque facile, ut epistula communi legionum nomine exstiterit petentium, ut legatis consularibus simul cum exsercitu et triumphalia darentur, ne causam belli quoquo modo quaererent. Aulo Plautio etiam ovationem decrevit ingressoque urbem obviam progressus, et in Capitolium eunti et inde rursus revertenti latus texit. Gabinio Secundo, Chaucis gente Germanica superatis, cognomen Chaucius usurpare concessit.

Military reforms

25 Equestris militias ita ordinavit, ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret; stipendiaque instituit et imaginariae militiae genus, quod vocatur *supra numerum*, quo absentes et titulo tenus fungerentur. Milites domos senatorias salutandi causa ingredi etiam patrum decreto prohibuit. Libertinos, qui se pro equitibus Romanis agerent, publicavit. Ingratos et de quibus patroni quererentur revocavit in servitutem advocatisque eorum negavit, se adversus libertos ipsorum ius dicturum. Cum quidam aegra et adfecta mancipia in insulam Aesculapii taedio medendi exponerent, omnes qui exponerentur liberos esse sanxit, nec redire in dicionem domini, si convaluissent; quod si quis necare quem mallet quam exponere, caedis crimine teneri. Viatores ne per Italiae oppida nisi aut pedibus aut sella aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto. Puteolis et Ostiae singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum casus collocavit.

Peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina dumtaxat gentilicia. Civitatem Romanam usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit. Provincias Achaiam et Macedoniam, quas Tiberius ad curam

suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit. Lyciis ob exitiabiles inter se discordias libertatem ademit, Rhodiis ob paenitentiam veterum delictorum reddidit. Iliensibus, quasi Romanae gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remisit, recitata vetere epistula Graeca senatus populique Romani Seleuco regi amicitiam et societatem ita demum pollicentis, si consanguineos suos Ilienses ab omni onere immunes praestitisset. Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantis Roma expulit. Germanorum legatis in orchestra sedere permisit, simplicitate eorum et fiducia commotus, quod in popularia deducti, cum animadvertissent Parthos et Armenios sedentis in senatu, ad eadem loca sponte transierant, nihilo deteriorem virtutem aut condicionem suam praedicantes. Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis, et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam, penitus abolevit; contra sacra Eleusinia etiam transferre ex Attica Romam conatus est, templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum ut ex aerario populi Romani reficeretur, auctor fuit. Cum regibus foedus in foro icit porca caesa ac vetere fetialium praefatione adhibita. Sed et haec et cetera totumque adeo ex parte magna principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administravit, talis ubique plerumque, qualem esse eum aut expediret illis aut liberet.

Religious reforms

Sponsas admodum adulescens duas habuit: Aemiliam **26**
Lepidam Augusti proneptem, item Liviam Medullinam, cui et cognomen Camillae erat, e genere antiquo dictatoris Camilli. Priorem, quod parentes eius Augustum offenderant, virginem adhuc repudiavit, posteriorem ipso die, qui erat nuptiis destinatus, ex valetudine amisit. Uxores deinde duxit Plautiam

His wives

Urgulanillam triumphali, et mox Aeliam Paetinam consulari patre. Cum utraque divortium fecit, sed cum Paetina ex levibus offensis, cum Urgulanilla ob libidinum probra et homicidii suspicionem. Post has Valeriam Messalinam, Barbati Messalae consobrini sui filiam, in matrimonium accepit. Quam cum comperisset super cetera flagitia atque dedecora C. Silio etiam nupsisse dote inter auspices consignata, supplicio adfecit confirmavitque pro contione apud praetorianos, *quatenus sibi matrimonia male cederent, permansurum se in caelibatu, ac nisi permansisset, non recusaturum confodi manibus ipsorum.* Nec durare valuit quin de condicionibus continuo tractaret, etiam de Paetinae, quam olim exegerat, deque Lolliae Paulinae, quae C. Caesari nupta fuerat. Verum illecebris Agrippinae, Germanici fratris sui filiae, per ius osculi et blanditiarum occasiones pellectus in amorem, subornavit proximo senatu qui censerent, cogendum se ad ducendum eam uxorem, quasi rei publicae maxime interesset, dandamque ceteris veniam talium coniugiorum, quae ad id tempus incesta habebantur. Ac vix uno interposito die confecit nuptias; non repertis qui sequerentur exemplum, excepto libertino quodam, et altero primipilari, cuius nuptiarum officium et ipse cum Agrippina celebravit.

His children

7 Liberos ex tribus uxoribus tulit: ex Urgulanilla Drusum et Claudiam, ex Paetina Antoniam, ex Messalina Octaviam et quem primo Germanicum, mox Britannicum cognominavit. Drusum Pompeis impuberem amisit, piro per lusum in sublime iactato et hiatu oris excepto strangulatum, cum ei ante paucos dies filiam Seiani despondisset. Quo magis miror fuisse, qui traderent fraude a Seiano necatum. Claudiam ex liberto suo Botere conceptam, quamvis ante quintum mensem

divortii natam alique coeptam, exponi tamen ad matris ianuam et nudam iussit abici. Antoniam Cn. Pompeio Magno, deinde Fausto Sullae, nobilissimis iuvenibus, Octaviam Neroni privigno suo collocavit, Silano ante desponsam. Britannicum, vicesimo imperii die inque secundo consulatu natum sibi, parvulum etiam tum, et militi pro contione manibus suis gestans et plebi per spectacula gremio aut ante se retinens assidue commendabat faustisque ominibus cum adclamantium turba prosequebatur. E generis Neronem adoptavit, Pompeium atque Silanum non recusavit modo, sed et interemit.

His freedmen

Libertorum praecipue suspexit Posiden spadonem, 28
quem etiam Britannico triumpho inter militares viros hasta pura donavit; nec minus Felicem, quem cohortibus et alis provinciaeque Iudaeae praeposuit, trium reginarum maritum; et Harpocran, cui lectica per urbem vehendi spectaculaque publice edendi ius tribuit; ac super hos Polybium ab studiis, qui saepe inter duos consules ambulabat; sed ante omnis Narcissum ab epistulis, et Pallantem a rationibus, quos decreto quoque senatus non praemiis modo ingentibus, sed et quaestoriis praetoriisque ornamentis honorari libens passus est; tantum praeterea acquirere et rapere, ut querente eo quondam de fisci exiguitate non absurde dictum sit, *abundaturum, si a duobus libertis in consortium reciperetur.* His, ut dixi, uxoribusque addictus, non princi- 29

Ruled by wives and freedmen

pem se, sed ministrum egit, compendio cuiusque horum vel etiam studio aut libidine honores, exercitus, impunitates, supplicia, largitus est, et quidem insciens plerumque et ignarus. Ac ne singillatim minora quoque enumerem, revocatas liberalitates eius, iudicia rescissa, suppositos aut etiam

palam immutatos datorum officiorum codicillos; Appium Silanum consocerum suum, Iuliasque alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici filiam, crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data occidit, item Cn. Pompeium maioris filiae virum, et L. Silanum minoris sponsum. Ex quibus Pompeius . . . confossus est, Silanus abdicare se praetura ante IIII Kal. Ian. morique initio anni coactus, die ipso Claudi et Agrippinae nuptiarum. In quinque et triginta senatores trecentosque amplius equites Romanos tanta facilitate animadvertit, ut, de nece consularis viri renuntiante centurione factum esse quod imperasset, negaret quicquam se imperasse, nihilo minus rem comprobaret, affirmantibus libertis: officio milites functos, quod ad ultionem imperatoris ultro procucurrissent. Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit quod nuptiis, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit, inductus, quasi de industria simularentur ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminēre ipsi per quaedam ostenta portenderetur.

30 Auctoritas dignitasque formae non defuit ei, verum stanti vel sedenti ac praecipue quiescenti; (nam et prolixo nec exili corpore erat, et specie canitieque pulcra, opimis cervicibus) ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi, et remisse quid vel serio agentem multa dehonestabant: risus indecens, ira turpior spumante rictu, umentibus naribus, praeterea linguae titubantia, caputque cum semper, tum in quantulocumque actu

Personal appearance

31 vel maxime tremulum. Valetudine sicut olim gravi, ita princeps prospera usus est, excepto stomachi dolore, quo se correptum etiam de consciscenda morte cogitasse dixit.

Health

Banquets

32 Convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua, ac fere patentissimis locis ut plerumque sesceni simul discumberent. Convivatus est et super emissarium Fucini lacus, ac paene summersus, cum emissa impetu aqua redundasset. Adhibebat omni cenae et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more vetere ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur. Convivae, qui pridie scyphum aureum subripuisse existimabatur, revocato in diem posterum calicem fictilem apposuit. . . .

Gluttony

33 Cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus, cognoscens quondam in Augusti foro, ictusque nidore prandii, quod in proxima Martis aede Saliis apparabatur, deserto tribunali ascendit ad sacerdotes unaque decubuit. Nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens, et ut statim supino ac per somnum hianti pinna in os inderetur ad exonerandum stomachum. Somni brevissimi erat (nam ante mediam noctem plerumque evigilabat) ut tamen interdiu nonnumquam in iure dicendo obdormisceret, vixque ab advocatis de industria vocem augentibus excitaretur. . . . Aleam studiosissime lusit; de cuius arte librum quoque emisit; solitus etiam in gestatione ludere, ita essedo alveoque adaptatis ne lusus confunderetur.

Sanguinary disposition

34 Saevum et sanguinarium natura fuisse, magnis minimisque apparuit rebus. Tormenta quaestionum poenasque parricidarum repraesentabat exigebatque coram. Cum spectare antiqui moris supplicium Tiburi concupisset, et deligatis ad palum noxiis carnifex deesset, accitum ab urbe vesperam usque opperiri perseveravit. Quocumque gladiatorio munere, vel suo vel alieno, etiam forte prolapsos iugulari iubebat, maxime retiarios, ut expirantium facies videret.

Cum par quoddam mutuis ictibus concidisset, cultellos sibi parvulos ex utroque ferro in usum fieri sine mora iussit. Bestiariis meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut et prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet et meridie, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet, praeterque destinatos etiam levi subitaque de causa quosdam committeret, de fabrorum quoque ac ministrorum atque id genus numero, si automatum vel pegma vel quid tale aliud parum cessisset. Induxit et unum ex nomenculatoribus suis, sic ut erat togatus.

35 Sed nihil aeque quam timidus ac diffidens fuit. Primis imperii diebus quamquam, ut diximus, iactator civilitatis, neque convivia inire ausus est nisi ut speculatores cum lanceis circumstarent militesque vice ministrorum fungerentur, neque aegrum quemquam visitavit nisi explorato prius cubiculo culcitisque et stragulis praetemptatis et excussis. Reliquo autem tempore salutatoribus scrutatores semper apposuit, et quidem omnibus et acerbissimos. Sero enim ac vix remisit, ne feminae praetextatique pueri et puellae contrectarentur, et ne cuius comiti aut librario calamariae aut graphiariae thecae adimerentur. Motu civili cum eum Camillus, non dubitans etiam citra bellum posse terreri, contumeliosa et minaci et contumaci epistula cedere imperio iuberet vitamque otiosam in privata re agere, dubitavit, adhibitis principibus viris, an obtemperaret.

Timidity and distrust.

36 Quasdam insidias temere delatas adeo expavit, ut deponere imperium temptaverit. Quodam, ut supra rettuli, cum ferro circa sacrificantem se deprehenso, senatum per praecones propere convocavit lacrimisque et vociferatione miseratus est condicionem suam, cui nihil tuti usquam esset, ac diu publico abstinuit. Messalinae

quoque amorem flagrantissimum non tam indignitate contumeliarum quam periculi metu abiecit, cum adultero Silio acquiri imperium credidisset; quo tempore foedum in modum trepidus ad castra confugit, nihil tota via quam *essetne sibi salvum imperium* requirens. Nulla adeo 37 suspicio, nullus auctor tam levis exstitit, a quo non mediocri scrupulo iniecto ad cavendum ulciscendumque compelleretur. Unus ex litigatoribus seducto in salutatione affirmavit, vidisse se per quietem occidi eum a quodam; dein paulo post, quasi percussorem agnosceret, libellum tradentem adversarium suum demonstravit: confestimque is pro deprenso ad poenam raptus est. Pari modo oppressum ferunt Appium Silanum: quem cum Messalina et Narcissus conspirassent perdere, divisis partibus, alter ante lucem similis attonito patroni cubiculum inrupit, affirmans somniasse se vim ei ab Appio inlatam; altera, in admirationem formata, sibi quoque eandem speciem aliquot iam noctibus obversari rettulit; nec multo post ex composito irrumpere Appius nuntiatus, cui pridie ad id temporis ut adesset praeceptum erat, quasi plane repraesentaretur somnii fides, arcessi statim ac mori iussus est. Nec dubitavit postero die Claudius ordinem rei gestae perferre ad senatum ac liberto gratias agere, quod pro salute sua etiam dormiens excubaret. Irae 38 atque iracundiae conscius sibi, utramque excusavit edicto distinxitque, pollicitus *alteram quidem brevem et innoxiam, alteram non iniustam fore.* Ostiensibus, quia sibi subeunti Tiberim scaphas obviam non miserint, graviter correptis, eaque cum invidia, ut in ordinem se coactum conscriberet, repente tantum non satis facientis modo, veniam dedit. Quosdam in publico parum tempestive adeuntis manu sua reppulit. Item scribam quaestorium, itemque praetura

functum senatorem inauditos et innoxios relegavit, quod ille adversus privatum se intemperantius affuisset, hic in aedilitate inquilinos praediorum suorum, contra vetitum cocta vendentes, multasset vilicumque intervenientem flagellasset. Qua de causa etiam coercitionem popinarum aedilibus ademit.

Ac ne stultitiam quidem suam reticuit, simulatamque a se ex industria sub Gaio, quod aliter evasurus perventurusque ad susceptam stationem non fuerit, quibusdam oratiunculis testatus est; nec tamen persuasit, cum intra breve tempus liber editus sit, cui index erat Μωρῶν ἐπανάστασις, argumentum autem, stultitiam neminem fingere.

His forgetfulness and indifference

39 Inter cetera in eo mirati sunt homines et oblivionem et inconsiderantiam, vel, ut Graece dicam, μετεωρίαν et ἀβλεψίαν. Occisa Messalina, paulo post quam in triclinio decubuit, *cur domina non veniret* requisiit. Multos ex iis, quos capite damnaverat, postero statim die et in consilium et ad aleae lusum admoneri iussit et, quasi morarentur, ut somniculosos per nuntium increpuit. Ducturus contra fas Agrippinam uxorem, non cessavit omni oratione *filiam et alumnam et in gremio suo natam atque educatam* praedicare. Adsciturus in nomen Neronem, quasi parum reprehenderetur, quod adulto iam filio privignum adoptaret, identidem divulgavit, *neminem umquam per adoptionem familiae Claudiae insertum.*

Lack of dignity

40 Sermonis vero rerumque tantam saepe neglegentiam ostendit, ut nec quis nec inter quos, quove tempore ac loco verba faceret, scire aut cogitare existimaretur. Cum de laniis ac vinariis ageretur, exclamavit in curia: *Rogo vos, quis potest sine offula vivere?* descripsitque abundantiam veterum taber-

narum, unde solitus esset vinum olim et ipse petere. De quaesturae quodam candidato inter causas suffragationis suae posuit, *quod pater eius frigidam aegro sibi tempestive dedisset.* Inducta teste in senatu, *Haec* inquit *matris meae liberta et ornatrix fuit, sed me patronum semper existimavit; hoc ideo dixi, quod quidam sunt adhuc in domo mea, qui me patronum non putant.* Sed et pro tribunali, Ostiensibus quiddam publice orantibus, cum excanduisset, *nihil habere se* vociferatus est, *quare eos demereatur; si quem alium, et se liberum esse.* Nam illa eius cotidiana et plane omnium horarum et momentorum erant: *Quid, ego tibi Telegenius videor?* et Λάλει, καὶ μὴ θίγγανε! multaque talia etiam privatis deformia, nedum principi, neque infacundo neque indocto, immo etiam pertinaciter liberalibus studiis dedito.

Historiam in adulescentia, hortante T. Livio, Sulpicio 41
vero Flavo etiam adiuvante, scribere adgressus est. Et cum primum frequenti auditorio commisisset, aegre perlegit, refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso. Nam cum initio recitationis, defractis compluribus subsellis obesitate cuiusdam, risus exortus esset, ne sedato quidem tumultu temperare potuit, quin ex intervallo subinde facti reminisceretur cachinnosque revocaret. In principatu quoque et scripsit plurimum et assidue recitavit per lectorem. Initium autem sumpsit historiae post caedem Caesaris dictatoris, sed et transiit ad inferiora tempora coepitque a pace civili, cum sentiret neque libere neque vere sibi de superioribus tradendi potestatem relictam, correptus saepe et a matre et ab avia. Prioris materiae duo volumina, posterioris unum et quadraginta reliquit. Composuit et *De vita sua* octo volumina, magis inepte

Historical works

quam ineleganter; item *Ciceronis defensionem adversus Asini Galli libros* satis eruditam. Novas etiam commentus est litteras tres, ac numero veterum quasi maxime necessarias addidit; de quarum ratione cum privatus adhuc volumen edidisset, mox princeps non difficulter obtinuit ut in usu quoque promiscuo essent. Exstat talis scriptura in plerisque libris ac diurnis titulisque operum.

Devotion to Greek literature

42 Nec minore cura Graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus. Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti *Cum utroque*, inquit, *sermone nostro sis paratus;* et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, *gratam sibi provinciam* ait *communium studiorum commercio;* ac saepe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit. Multum vero pro tribunali etiam Homericis locutus est versibus. Quotiens quidem hostem vel insidiatorem ultus esset, excubitori tribuno signum de more poscenti non temere aliud dedit, quam:

Ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.

Denique et Graecas scripsit historias, Tyrrhenicon viginti, Carchedoniacon octo. Quarum causa veteri Alexandriae Museo Claudieum additum ex ipsius nomine; institutumque ut quotannis in altero Tyrrhenicon libri, in altero Carchedoniacon diebus statutis velut in audi-
43 torio recitarentur toti a singulis per vices.

Repents marriage with Agrippina

Sub exitu vitae signa quaedam, nec obscura, paenitentis de matrimonio Agrippinae deque Neronis adoptione dederat. Siquidem, commemorantibus libertis ac laudantibus cognitionem, qua pridie quandam adulterii ream condemnarat, *sibi*

quoque in fatis esse iactavit *omnia impudica, sed non impunita matrimonia;* et subinde obvium sibi Britannicum artius complexus hortatus est, *ut cresceret rationemque a se omnium factorum acciperet;* Graeca insuper voce prosecutus: ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται. Cumque impubi teneroque adhuc, quando statura permitteret, togam dare destinasset, adiecit: *Ut tandem populus Romanus verum Caesarem habeat.* Non multoque post testamentum etiam conscripsit 44

Poisoned at instigation of Agrippina

ac signis omnium magistratuum obsignavit. Prius igitur quam ultra progrederetur, praeventus est ab Agrippina, quam praeter haec conscientia quoque, nec minus delatores multorum criminum arguebant.

Et veneno quidem occisum convenit; ubi autem et per quem dato, discrepat. Quidam tradunt, epulanti in arce cum sacerdotibus per Halotum spadonem praegustatorem; alii, domestico convivio per ipsam Agrippinam, quae boletum medicatum avidissimo ciborum talium obtulerat. Etiam de subsequentibus diversa fama est. Multi statim hausto veneno obmutuisse aiunt, excruciatumque doloribus nocte tota defecisse prope lucem. Nonnulli inter initia consopitum, deinde cibo affluente evomuisse omnia, repetitumque toxico, incertum pultine addito, cum velut exhaustum refici cibo oporteret, an immisso per clystera, ut quasi abundantia laboranti etiam hoc genere egestionis subveniretur. Mors 45

Death concealed

eius celata est, donec circa successorem omnia ordinarentur. Itaque et quasi pro aegro adhuc vota suscepta sunt, et inducti per simulationem comoedi, qui velut desiderantem oblectarent. Excessit III Id. Octob. Asinio Marcello, Acilio Aviola coss. sexagesimo quarto aetatis, imperii quarto decimo anno, fune-

ratusque est sollemni principum pompa et in numerum dēorum relatus: quem honorem a Nerone destitutum abolitumque recepit mox per Vespasianum.

Omens foreboding death

46 Praesagia mortis eius praecipua fuerunt: exortus crinitae stellae, [quam cometen vocant,] tactumque de caelo monumentum Drusi patris, et quod eodem anno ex omnium magistratuum genere plerique mortem obierant. Sed nec ipse ignorasse aut dissimulasse ultima vitae suae tempora videtur, aliquot quidem argumentis. Nam et cum consules designaret, neminem ultra mensem quo obiit designavit, et in senatu, cui novissime interfuit, multum ad concordiam liberos suos cohortatus, utriusque aetatem suppliciter patribus commendavit, et in ultima cognitione pro tribunali *accessisse ad finem mortalitatis,* quamquam abominantibus qui audiebant, semel atque iterum pronuntiavit.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM

LIBER VI.

NERO.

The family of the Aenobarbi

Ex gente Domitia duae familiae claruerunt, Calvino- 1
rum et Aenobarborum. Aenobarbi auctorem originis itemque cognominis habent L. Domitium cui rure quondam revertenti iuvenes gemini augustiore forma ex occursu imperasse traduntur, nuntiaret senatui ac populo victoriam, de qua incertum adhuc erat; atque in fidem maiestatis adeo permulsisse malas, ut e nigro rutilum aerique adsimilem capillum redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris eius, ac magna pars rutila barba fuerunt. Functi autem consulatibus septem, triumpho censuraque duplici, et inter patricios adlecti perseveraverunt omnes in eodem cognomine. Ac ne praenomina quidem ulla praeterquam Gnaei et Luci usurparunt; eaque ipsa notabili varietate, modo continuantes unum quodque per trinas personas, modo alternantes per singulas. Nam primum secundumque ac tertium Aenobarborum Lucios, sequentis rursus tres ex ordine Gnaeos accepimus, reliquos nonnisi vicissim tum Lucios tum Gnaeos. Pluris e familia cognosci referre arbitror, quo facilius appareat ita degenerasse a

suorum virtutibus Nero, ut tamen vitia cuiusque quasi
2 tradita et ingenita rettulerit. Ut igitur paulo altius repetam, atavus eius Cn. Domitius in tribunatu pontificibus offensior, quod alium quam se in patris sui locum cooptassent, ius sacerdotum subrogandorum a collegiis ad populum transtulit, at in consulatu Allobrogibus Arvernisque superatis, elephanto per provinciam vectus est, turba militum quasi inter sollemnia triumphi prosequente. In hunc dixit Licinius Crassus orator, *non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum, cor plumbeum esset.* Huius filius praetor C. Caesarem abeuntem consulatu, quem adversus auspicia legesque gessisse existimabatur, ad disquisitionem senatus vocavit; mox consul imperatorem ab exercitibus Gallicis retrahere temptavit, successorque ei per factionem nominatus, principio civilis belli ad Corfinium captus est. Unde dimissus Massiliensis obsidione laborantis cum adventu suo confirmasset, repente destituit, acieque demum Pharsalica occubuit; vir neque satis constans et ingenio truci, in desperatione rerum mortem timore appetitam ita expavit, ut haustum venenum paenitentia evomuerit medicumque manumiserit, quod sibi prudens ac sciens minus noxium temperasset. Consultante autem Cn. Pompeio de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus, solus censuit hostium numero habendos.

Cn. Domitius, grandfather of Nero's great-grandfather

3 Reliquit filium omnibus gentis suae procul dubio praeferendum. Is inter conscios Caesarianae necis quamquam insons damnatus lege Pedia, cum ad Cassium Brutumque se propinqua sibi cognatione iunctos contulisset, post utriusque interitum classem olim commissam retinuit, auxit etiam,

Nero's great-grandfather

nec nisi partibus ubique profligatis M. Antonio sponte et ingentis meriti loco tradidit; solusque omnium ex iis, qui pari lege damnati erant, restitutus in patriam, amplissimos honores percucurrit; ac subinde redintegrata dissensione civili, eidem Antonio legatus, delatam sibi summam imperii ab iis, quos Cleopatrae pudebat, neque suscipere neque recusare fidenter propter subitam valetudinem ausus, transiit ad Augustum et in diebus paucis obiit, nonnulla et ipse infamia aspersus. Nam Antonius eum desiderio amicae Serviliae Naidis transfugisse iactavit.

His grandfather

4 Ex hoc Domitius nascitur, quem emptorem familiae pecuniaeque in testamento Augusti fuisse mox vulgo notatum est, non minus aurigandi arte in adulescentia clarus quam deinde ornamentis triumphalibus ex Germanico bello. Verum arrogans, profusus, immitis censorem L. Plancum via sibi decedere aedilis coegit; praeturae consulatusque honore equites Romanos matronasque ad agendum mimum produxit in scaenam. Venationes et in circo et in omnibus urbis regionibus dedit, munus etiam gladiatorium, sed tanta saevitia, ut necesse fuerit Augusto clam frustra monitum edicto coercere.

His father

5 Ex Antonia maiore patrem Neronis procreavit, omni parte vitae detestabilem. Siquidem comes ad Orientem C. Caesaris iuvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potare quantum iubebatur recusarat, dimissus e cohorte amicorum nihilo modestius vixit. Sed et in Viae Appiae vico repente puerum citatis iumentis haud ignarus obtrivit, et Romae medio foro cuidam equiti Romano liberius iurganti oculum eruit; perfidiae vero tantae, ut non modo argentarios pretiis rerum coemptarum, sed et in praetura mercede palmarum aurigarios fraudaverit; notatus ob haec

et sororis ioco,* querentibus dominis factionum repraesentanda praemia in posterum sanxit. Maiestatis quoque et adulteriorum incestique cum sorore Lepida sub excessu Tiberi reus, mutatione temporum evasit decessitque Pyrgis morbo aquae intercutis, sublato filio Nerone ex Agrippina, Germanico genita.

Nero's birth

6 Nero natus est Anti post VIIII mensem quam Tiberius excessit, XVIII Kal. Ian. tantum quod exoriente sole, paene ut radiis prius quam terra contingeretur. De genitura eius statim multa et formidolosa multis coniectantibus, praesagio fuit etiam Domiti patris vox, inter gratulationes amicorum *negantis quicquam ex se et Agrippina nisi detestabile et malo publico nasci potuisse.* Eiusdem futurae infelicitatis signum evidens die lustrico exstitit; nam C. Caesar, rogante sorore ut infanti quod vellet nomen daret, intuens Claudium patruum suum, a quo mox principe Nero adoptatus est, *eius se* dixit *dare*, neque ipse serio sed per iocum, et aspernante Agrippina, quod tum Claudius inter ludibria aulae erat.

His childhood

Trimulus patrem amisit; cuius ex parte tertia heres, ne hanc quidem integram cepit, correptis per coheredem Gaium universis bonis. Et subinde matre etiam relegata, paene inops atque egens apud amitam Lepidam nutritus est, sub duobus paedagogis saltatore atque tonsore. Verum Claudio imperium adepto, non solum paternas opes reciperavit, sed et Crispi Passieni vitrici sui hereditate ditatus est. Gratia quidem et potentia revocatae restitutaeque matris usque eo floruit, ut emanaret in vulgus, missos a Messalina uxore Claudi, qui eum meridiantem, quasi Britannici aemulum, strangularent. Additum fabulae, at eosdem dracone e

pulvino se proferente conterritos refugisse. Quae fabula exorta est, deprensis in lecto eius circum cervicalia serpentis exuviis; quas tamen aureae armillae ex voluntate matris inclusas dextro brachio gestavit aliquamdiu, ac taedio tandem maternae memoriae abiecit, rursusque extremis suis rebus frustra requisiit.

Tener adhuc necdum matura pueritia circensibus ludis Troiam constantissime favorabiliterque lusit. Undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeoque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus. Ferunt, Senecam proxima nocte visum sibi per quietem C. Caesari praecipere, et fidem somnio Nero brevi fecit, prodita immanitate naturae quibus primum potuit experimentis. Namque Britannicum fratrem, quod se post adoptionem *Aenobarbum* ex consuetudine salutasset, ut subditivum apud patrem arguere conatus est. Amitam autem Lepidam ream testimonio coram afflixit, gratificans matri, a qua rea premebatur. 7

His youth

Deductus in forum tiro populo congiarium, militi donativum proposuit, indictaque decursione praetorianis scutum sua manu praetulit; exin patri gratias in senatu egit. Apud eundem consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodiis atque Iliensibus Graece verba fecit. Auspicatus est et iuris dictionem praefectus urbi sacro Latinarum, celeberrimis patronis non tralaticias ut assolet et brevis, sed maximas plurimasque postulationes certatim ingerentibus, quamvis interdictum a Claudio esset. Nec multo post duxit uxorem Octaviam, ediditque pro Claudi salute circenses et venationem.

Septemdecim natus annos, ut de Claudio palam factum est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad excubi- 8

tores, cum ob totius diei diritatem non aliud auspicandi tempus accommodatius videretur; proque Palati gradibus imperator consalutatus, lectica in castra et inde raptim appellatis militibus in curiam delatus est, discessitque iam vesperi, ex immensis, quibus cumulabatur, honoribus tantum patris patriae nomine recusato propter aetatem.

His accession

9 Orsus hinc a pietatis ostentatione, Claudium apparatissimo funere elatum laudavit et consecravit. Memoriae Domiti patris honores maximos habuit. Matri summam omnium rerum privatarum publicarumque permisit. Primo etiam imperii die signum excubanti tribuno dedit *Optimam matrem*, ac deinceps eiusdem saepe lectica per publicum simul vectus est. Antium coloniam deduxit, ascriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilarium; ubi et portum operis sumptuosissimi fecit.

10 Atque ut certiorem adhuc indolem ostenderet, *ex Augusti praescripto* imperaturum se professus, neque liberalitatis neque clementiae, ne comitatis quidem exhibendae ullam occasionem omisit. Graviora vectigalia aut abolevit aut minuit. Praemia delatorum Papiae legis ad quartas redegit. Divisis populo viritim quadringenis nummis, senatorum nobilissimo cuique, sed a re familiari destituto annua salaria, et quibusdam quingena, constituit, item praetorianis cohortibus frumentum menstruum gratuitum. Et cum de supplicio cuiusdam capite damnati ut ex more subscriberet admoneretur: *Quam vellem*, inquit, *nescire litteras!* Omnis ordines subinde ac memoriter salutavit. Agenti senatui gratias respondit: *Cum meruero.* Ad campestres exercitationes suas admisit et plebem, declamavitque sae-

Promises of a happy reign

pius publice; recitavit et carmina, non modo domi sed et in theatro, tanta universorum laetitia, ut ob recitationem supplicatio decreta sit, eaque pars carminum aureis litteris Iovi Capitolino dicata.

Spectaculorum plurima et varia genera edidit: iuvena- 11
les, circenses, scaenicos ludos, gladiatorium munus. Iuvenalibus senes quoque consulares anusque matronas recepit ad lusum. Circensibus loca equiti secreta a ceteris tribuit, commisitque etiam camelorum quadrigas. Ludis, quos pro aeternitate imperii susceptos appellari *maximos* voluit, ex utroque ordine et sexu plerique ludicras partes sustinuerunt; notissimus eques Romanus elephanto supersidens per catadromum decucurrit; inducta Afrani togata, quae *Incendium* inscribitur, concessumque ut scaenici ardentis domus supellectilem diriperent ac sibi haberent; sparsa et populo missilia omnium rerum per omnes dies: singula cotidie milia avium cuiusque generis, multiplex penus, tesserae frumentariae, vestis, aurum, argentum, gemmae, margaritae, tabulae pictae, mancipia, iumenta, atque etiam mansuetae ferae, novissime naves, insulae, agri. Hos ludos spectavit e proscaenii fastigio. Munere, 12
quod in amphitheatro ligneo regione Martii campi intra anni spatium fabricato dedit, neminem occidit, ne noxiorum quidem; exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores sescentosque equites Romanos, et quosdam fortunae atque existimationis integrae, ex isdem ordinibus confectores quoque ferarum et varia harenae ministeria; exhibuit et naumachiam marina aqua, innantibus beluis; item pyrrichas quasdam e numero epheborum, quibus post editam operam diplomata civitatis Romanae singulis obtulit. . . . Icarus primo statim

Spectacles

conatu iuxta cubiculum eius decidit ipsumque cruore respersit. Nam perraro praesidere, ceterum accubans, parvis primum foraminibus, deinde toto podio adaperto spectare consuerat.

Instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, musicum gymnicum equestre, quod appellavit Neronia; dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio, senatui quoque et equiti oleum praebuit. Magistros toto certamini praeposuit consulares sorte, sede praetorum. Deinde in orchestram senatumque descendit, et orationis quidem carminisque Latini coronam, de qua honestissimus quisque contenderat, ipsorum consensu concessam sibi recepit, citharae autem a iudicibus ad se delatam adoravit ferique ad Augusti statuam iussit. Gymnico, quod in Saeptis edebat, inter buthysiae apparatum barbam primam posuit, conditamque in auream pyxidem et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam Capitolio consecravit. Ad athletarum spectaculum invitavit et virgines Vestales, quia Olympiae quoque Cereris sacerdotibus spectare conceditur.

The Neronia

13 Non immerito inter spectacula ab eo edita et Tiridatis in urbem introitum rettulerim. Quem Armeniae regem, magnis pollicitationibus sollicitatum, cum destinato per edictum die ostensurus populo propter nubilum distulisset, produxit quo opportunissime potuit, dispositis circa fori templa armatis cohortibus, curuli residens apud rostra triumphantis habitu, inter signa militaria atque vexilla; et primo per devexum pulpitum subeuntem admisit ad genua allevatumque dextra exosculatus est, dein precanti tiara deducta diadema inposuit, verba supplicis interpretata praetorio viro multitudini pronuntiante; perductum inde in thea-

Visit of Tiridates

trum ac rursus supplicantem iuxta se latere dextro conlocavit. Ob quae imperator consalutatus, laurea in Capitolium lata, Ianum geminum clausit, tamquam nullo 14
residuo bello.

Consulates

Consulatus quattuor gessit: primum bimenstrem, secundum et novissimum semenstres, tertium quadrimenstrem; medios duos continuavit, reliquos inter annua spatia variavit. In iuris dictione pos- 15
tulatoribus, nisi sequenti die ac per libellos, non temere respondit.

Administration

Cognoscendi morem eum tenuit, ut, continuis actionibus omissis, singillatim quaeque per vices ageret. Quotiens autem ad consultandum secederet, neque in commune quicquam neque propalam deliberabat, sed conscriptas ab uno quoque sententias tacitus ac secreto legens, quod ipsi libuisset perinde atque pluribus idem videretur pronuntiabat.

In curiam libertinorum filios diu non admisit; admissis a prioribus principibus honores denegavit. Candidatos, qui supra numerum essent, in solacium dilationis ac morae legionibus praeposuit. Consulatum in senos plerumque menses dedit. Defunctoque circa Kal. Ian. altero e consulibus, neminem substituit, improbans exemplum vetus Canini Rebili uno die consulis. Triumphalia ornamenta etiam quaestoriae dignitatis et nonnullis ex equestri ordine tribuit, nec utique de causa militari. De quibusdam rebus orationes ad senatum missas, praeterito quaestoris officio, per consulem plerumque recitabat. Formam aedificiorum urbis novam excogitavit, et ut ante 16
insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumptu suo exstruxit. Destinarat etiam Ostia tenus moenia promovere atque inde fossa mare veteri urbi inducere.

Reforms; persecution of the Christians

Multa sub eo et animadversa severe et coercita, nec minus instituta: adhibitus sumptibus modus; publicae cenae ad sportulas redactae; interdictum ne quid in popinis cocti praeter legumina aut holera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonii genus proponeretur; afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae; vetiti quadrigariorum lusus, quibus inveterata licentia passim vagantibus fallere ac furari per iocum ius erat; pantomimorum factiones cum ipsis simul relegatae; 17 adversus falsarios tunc primum repertum, ne tabulae nisi pertusae ac ter lino per foramina traiecto obsignarentur; cautum ut testamentis primae duae cerae, testatorum modo nomine inscripto, vacuae signaturis ostenderentur, ac ne qui alieni testamenti scriptor legatum sibi ascriberet; item ut litigatores pro patrociniis certam iustamque mercedem, pro subselliis nullam omnino darent, praebente aerario gratuita; utque rerum actu ab aerario causae ad forum ac reciperatores transferrentur, et ut omnes appellationes a iudicibus ad senatum fierent.

18 Augendi propagandique imperii neque voluntate ulla neque spe motus umquam, etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit, nec nisi verecundia, ne obtrectare parentis gloriae videretur, destitit. Ponti modo regnum concedente Polemone, item Alpium defuncto Cottio in provinciae formam redegit.

Expeditions

19 Peregrinationes duas omnino suscepit, Alexandrinam et Achaicam; sed Alexandrina ipso profectionis die destitit, turbatus religione simul ac periculo. Nam cum circumitis templis in aede Vestae resedisset, consurgenti ei primum lacinia obhaesit, deinde tanta oborta caligo est, ut dispicere non posset. In

Achaia Isthmum perfodere aggressus, praetorianos pro contione ad incohandum opus cohortatus est, tubaque signo dato primus rastello humum effodit et corbulae congestam umeris extulit. Parabat et ad Caspias portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italicis senum pedum tironibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalanga appellabat.

Haec partim nulla reprehensione, partim etiam non mediocri laude digna in unum contuli, ut secernerem a probris ac sceleribus eius, de quibus dehinc dicam.

Devotion to music

Inter ceteras disciplinas pueritiae tempore imbutus et 20 musica, statim ut imperium adeptus est, Terpnum citharoedum, vigentem tunc praeter alios, arcessiit diebusque continuis post cenam canenti in multam noctem assidens, paulatim et ipse meditari exercerique coepit, neque eorum quicquam omittere, quae generis eius artifices vel conservandae vocis causa vel augendae factitarent; sed et plumbeam chartam supinus pectore sustinere, et clystere vomituque purgari, et abstinere pomis cibisque officientibus; donec blandiente profectu (quamquam exiguae vocis et fuscae) prodire in scaenam concupiit, subinde inter familiares Graecum proverbium iactans, *occultae musicae nullum esse respectum.* Et prodit Neapoli primum, ac ne concusso quidem repente motu terrae theatro ante cantare destitit, quam incohatum absolveret nomon. Ibidem saepius et per complures cantavit dies; sumpto etiam ad reficiendam vocem brevi tempore, impatiens secreti a balineis in theatrum transiit, mediaque in orchestra frequente populo epulatus, *si paulum subbibisset, aliquid se sufferti tinniturum* Graeco sermone promisit. Captus autem modulatis Alexandrinorum laudationibus, qui de novo commeatu

Neapolim confluxerant, plures Alexandria evocavit. Neque eo segnius adulescentulos equestris ordinis et quinque amplius milia e plebe robustissimae iuventutis undique elegit, qui divisi in factiones, plausuum genera condiscerent (bombos et imbrices et testas vocabant) operamque navarent cantanti sibi, insignes pinguissima coma et excellentissimo cultu pueri nec sine anulo laevis, quorum duces quadringena milia sestertia merebant.

Appears upon the stage

21 Cum magni aestimaret cantare etiam Romae, Neroneum agona ante praestitutam diem revocavit, flagitantibusque cunctis caelestem vocem respondit quidem *in hortis se copiam volentibus facturum,* sed adiuvante vulgi preces etiam statione militum, quae tunc excubabat, *repraesentaturum se* pollicitus est libens; ac sine mora nomen suum in albo profitentium citharoedorum iussit ascribi, sorticulaque in urnam cum ceteris demissa, intravit ordine suo, simul praefecti praetorii citharam sustinentes, post tribuni militum, iuxtaque amicorum intimi. Utque constitit, peracto principio, *Niobam se cantaturum* per Cluvium Rufum consularem pronuntiavit et in horam fere decimam perseveravit, coronamque eam et reliquam certaminis partem in annum sequentem distulit, ut saepius canendi occasio esset. Quod cum tardum videretur, non cessavit identidem se publicare. Dubitavit etiam an privatis spectaculis operam inter scaenicos daret, quodam praetorum sestertium decies offerente. Tragoedias quoque cantavit personatus, heroum deorumque item heroidum ac dearum personis effectis ad similitudinem oris sui et feminae, prout quamque diligeret. Inter cetera cantavit Canacen parturientem, Oresten matricidam, Oedipodem excaecatum, Herculem insanum. In qua fabula fama est, tirunculum

militem positum ad custodiam aditus, cum eum ornari ac vinciri catenis, sicut argumentum postulabat, videret, accurrisse ferendae opis gratia.

Equorum studio vel praecipue ab ineunte aetate flagravit, plurimusque illi sermo, quamquam vetaretur, de circensibus erat; et quondam tractum prasinum agitatorem inter condiscipulos querens, obiurgante paedagogo, de Hectore se loqui ementitus est. Sed cum inter initia imperii eburneis quadrigis cotidie in abaco luderet, ad omnis etiam minimos circenses e secessu commeabat, primo clam, deinde propalam; ut nemini dubium esset, eo die utique affuturum. Neque dissimulabat velle se palmarum numerum ampliare; quare spectaculum multiplicatis missibus in serum protrahebatur, ne dominis quidem iam factionum dignantibus nisi ad totius diei cursum greges ducere. Mox et ipse aurigare atque etiam spectari saepius voluit, positoque in hortis inter servitia et sordidam plebem rudimento, universorum se oculis in Circo Maximo praebuit, aliquo liberto mittente mappam unde magistratus solent. Nec contentus harum artium experimenta Romae dedisse, Achaiam, ut diximus, petit, hinc maxime motus: instituerant civitates, apud quas musici agones edi solent, omnes citharoedorum coronas ad ipsum mittere. Eas adeo grate recipiebat, ut legatos, qui pertulissent, non modo primos admitteret, sed etiam familiaribus epulis interponeret. A quibusdam ex his rogatus ut cantaret super cenam, exceptusque effusius, *solos scire audire Graecos, solosque se et studiis suis dignos* ait. Nec profectione dilata, ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Casii cantare auspicatus, certamina deinceps obiit omnia. Nam et quae 23

22 (in right margin beside "Equorum studio")

Passion for horses

Appears in various celebrations

diversissimorum temporum sunt, cogi in unum annum, quibusdam etiam iteratis, iussit, et Olympiae quoque praeter consuetudinem musicum agona commisit. Ac ne quid circa haec occupatum avocaret detineretve, cum praesentia eius urbicas res egere a liberto Helio admoneretur, rescripsit his verbis:

Quamvis nunc tuum consilium sit et votum celeriter reverti me, tamen suadere et optare potius debes, ut Nerone dignus revertar.

Cantante eo, ne necessaria quidem causa excedere theatro licitum est. Itaque et enixae quaedam in spectaculis dicuntur, et multi taedio audiendi laudandique, clausis oppidorum portis, aut furtim desiluisse de muro aut morte simulata funere elati. Quam autem trepide anxieque certaverit, quanta adversariorum aemulatione, quo metu iudicum, vix credi potest. Adversarios, quasi plane condicionis eiusdem, observare, captare, infamare secreto, nonnumquam ex occursu maledictis incessere, ac si qui arte praecellerent, corrumpere etiam solebat. Iudices autem prius quam inciperet reverentissime adloquebatur, *omnia se facienda fecisse, sed eventum in manu esse Fortunae; illos ut sapientis et doctos viros fortuita debere excludere;* atque, ut auderet hortantibus, aequiore animo recedebat, ac ne sic quidem sine sollicitudine, taciturnitatem pudoremque quorundam pro tristitia et maligni-
24 tate arguens suspectosque sibi dicens. In certando vero ita legi oboediebat, ut numquam exscreare ausus, sudorem quoque frontis brachio detergeret; atque etiam in tragico quodam actu, cum elapsum baculum cito resumpsisset, pavidus et metuens ne ob delictum certamine summoveretur, non aliter confirmatus est quam adiurante hypocrita, non animad-

His strict conformance to rule

versum id inter exsultationes succlamationesque populi. Victorem autem se ipse pronuntiabat; qua de causa et praeconio ubique contendit. Ac ne cuius alterius hieronicarum memoria aut vestigium exstaret usquam, subverti et unco trahi abicique in latrinas omnium statuas et imagines imperavit. Aurigavit quoque plurifariam, Olympiis vero etiam decemiugem, quamvis id ipsum in rege Mithradate carmine quodam suo reprehendisset; sed excussus curru ac rursus repositus, cum perdurare non posset, destitit ante decursum; neque eo setius coronatus est. Decedens deinde provinciam universam libertate donavit, simulque iudices civitate Romana et pecunia grandi. Quae beneficia e medio stadio Isthmiorum die sua ipse voce pronuntiavit.

His entry as conqueror into various cities

Reversus e Graecia Neapolim, quod in ea primum 25
artem protulerat, albis equis introiit, disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieronicarum est; simili modo Antium, inde Albanum, inde Romam; sed et Romam eo curru, quo Augustus olim triumphaverat, et in [veste] purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde, coronamque capite gerens Olympiacam, dextra manu Pythiam, praeeunte pompa ceterarum cum titulis, ubi et quos quo cantionum quove fabularum argumento vicisset; sequentibus currum ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos militesque se triumphi eius clamitantibus. Dehinc, diruto Circi Maximi arcu, per Velabrum forumque Palatium et Apollinem petit. Incedenti passim victimae caesae sparso per vias identidem croco, ingestaeque aves ac lemnisci et bellaria. Sacras coronas in cubiculis circum lectos posuit, item statuas suas citharoedico habitu (qua nota etiam nummum percussit). Ac post haec tantum afuit a remittendo laxan-

doque studio, ut conservandae vocis gratia neque milites umquam, nisi absens aut alio verba pronuntiante, appellaret neque quicquam serio iocove egerit, nisi astante phonasco, qui moneret, *parceret arteriis ac sudarium ad os applicaret;* multisque vel amicitiam suam obtulerit vel simultatem indixerit, prout quisque se magis parciusve laudasset.

26 Petulantiam, libidinem, luxuriam, avaritiam, crudelitatem sensim quidem primo et occulte et velut iuvenili errore exercuit, sed ut tunc quoque dubium nemini foret, naturae illa vitia, non aetatis esse. Post crepusculum statim adrepto pilleo vel galero popinas inibat circumque vicos vagabatur ludibundus, nec sine pernicie tamen. Siquidem redeuntis a cena verberare ac repugnantes vulnerare cloacisque demergere assuerat, tabernas etiam effringere et expilare; quintana domi constituta, ubi partae et ad licitationem dividendae praedae pretium absumeretur. Ac saepe in eius modi rixis oculorum et vitae periculum adiit, a quodam laticlavio, cuius uxorem attrectaverat, prope ad necem caesus. Quare numquam postea publico se illud horae sine tribunis commisit procul et occulte subsequentibus. Interdiu quoque clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum, seditionibus pantomimorum e parte proscaenii superiore signifer simul ac spectator aderat; et cum ad manus ventum esset lapidibusque et subselliorum fragminibus decerneretur, multa et ipse iecit in populum, atque etiam praetoris caput consauciavit.

Lawless conduct

27 Paulatim vero invalescentibus vitiis, iocularia et latebras omisit nullaque dissimulandi cura ad maiora palam erupit.

Epulas a medio die ad mediam noctem protrahebat,

His revels and debaucheries

refotus saepius calidis piscinis ac tempore aestivo nivatis; cenitabatque nonnumquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa vel Martio campo vel Circo Maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria. Quotiens Ostiam Tiberi deflueret aut Baianum sinum praeternavigaret, dispositae per litora et ripas deversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganea et matronarum institorio copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret. Indicebat et familiaribus cenas, quorum uni mitellita quadragies sestertium constitit, alteri pluris aliquanto rosaria.

. . . . . .

Prodigality

Divitiarum et pecuniae fructum non alium putabat 30
quam profusionem, *sordidos ac deparcos esse quibus impensarum ratio constaret, praelautos vereque magnificos qui abuterentur ac perderent.* Laudabat mirabaturque avunculum Gaium nullo magis nomine, quam quod ingentis a Tiberio relictas opes in brevi spatio prodegisset. Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit. In Tiridatem, quod vix credibile videatur, octingena nummum milia diurna erogavit abeuntique super sestertium milies contulit. Menecraten citharoedum et Spiculum mirmillonem triumphalium virorum patrimoniis aedibusque donavit. Cercopithecum Panerotem feneratorem, et urbanis rusticisque praediis locupletatum, prope regio extulit funere. Nullam vestem bis induit. Quadringenis in punctum sestertiis aleam lusit. Piscatus est rete aurato et purpura coccoque funibus nexis. Numquam minus mille carrucis fecisse iter traditur, soleis mularum argenteis, canusinatis mulionibus, armillata phalerataque Mazacum turba atque cursorum.

Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando, 31

The Golden House

domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit, quam primo *transitoriam*, mox incendio absumptam restitutamque *auream* nominavit. De cuius spatio atque cultu suffecerit haec retulisse. Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo colossus CXX pedum staret ipsius effigie; tanta laxitas, ut porticus triplices miliarias haberet; item stagnum maris instar, circumsaeptum aedificiis ad urbium speciem; rura insuper, arvis atque vinetis et pascuis silvisque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum. In ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita, distincta gemmis uuionumque conchis erant; cenationes laqueatae tabulis eburneis versatilibus, ut flores, fistulatis, ut unguenta desuper spargerentur; praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur; balineae marinis et albulis fluentes aquis. Eius modi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut *se* diceret *quasi hominem tandem habitare coepisse.*

Other works

Praeterea incohabat piscinam a Miseno ad Avernum lacum, contectam porticibusque conclusam, quo quidquid totis Baiis calidarum aquarum esset converteretur; fossam ab Averno Ostiam usque, ut navibus nec tamen mari iretur, longitudinis per centum sexaginta milia, latitudinis, qua contrariae quinqueremes commearent. Quorum operum perficiendorum gratia quod ubique esset custodiae in Italiam deportari, etiam scelere convictos nonnisi ad opus damnari praeceperat.

The hidden treasure

Ad hunc impendiorum furorem, super fiduciam imperii, etiam spe quadam repentina immensarum et reconditarum opum impulsus est ex indicio equitis Romani pro comperto pollicentis, thesauros antiquissimae gazae, quos Dido regina fugiens

Tyro secum extulisset, esse in Africa vastissimis spec bus abditos, ac posse erui parvula molientium oper Verum ut spes fefellit, destitutus, atque ita iam exhaust et egens ut stipendia quoque militum et commoda veter norum protrahi ac differri necesse esset, calumniis rap nisque intendit animum.

Plundering schemes

Ante omnia instituit, ut e libertorum defunctorum bon pro semisse dextans ei cogeretur, qui sine probabili caus eo nomine fuissent quo essent ullae famili quas ipse contingeret; deinde, ut ingratoru in principem testamenta ad fiscum pert nerent, ac ne impune esset studiosis iuris, qui scripsisse vel dictassent ea; tunc ut lege maiestatis facta dictaqu omnia, quibus modo delator non deesset, tenerentu Revocavit et praemia coronarum, quae umquam si civitates in certaminibus detulissent. Et cum inte dixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris, summisi setque qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias vendere praeclusit cunctos negotiatores. Quin etiam inter c nendum animadversam matronam in spectaculis vetit purpura cultam demonstrasse procuratoribus suis dicitu detractamque ilico non veste modo sed et bonis exui Nulli delegavit officium ut non adiceret: *Scis quid mi opus sit!* et *Hoc agamus, ne quis quicquam habea* Ultimo templis compluribus dona detraxit simulacr que ex auro vel argento fabricata conflavit, in iis Pen tium deorum, quae mox Galba restituit.

Murders committed: Claudius

Parricidia et caedes a Claudio exorsus est; cuius nec etsi non auctor, at conscius fuit, neque di simulanter, ut qui boletos, in quo cibi gene venenum is acceperat, quasi deorum cibu posthac proverbio Graeco conlaudare sit solitus. Cert

omnibus rerum verborumque contumeliis mortuum insectatus est, modo stultitiae modo saevitiae arguens; nam et *morari eum desisse inter homines* producta prima syllaba iocabatur, multaque decreta et constituta, ut insipientis atque deliri, pro irritis habuit; denique bustum eius consaepiri, nisi humili levique maceria, neglexit.

Britannicus

Britannicum non minus aemulatione vocis, quae illi iucundior suppetebat, quam metu ne quandoque apud hominum gratiam paterna memoria praevaleret, veneno adgressus est. Quod acceptum a quadam Locusta, venenorum variorum indice, cum opinione tardius cederet, ventre modo Britannici moto, accersitam mulierem sua manu verberavit arguens, pro veneno remedium dedisse; excusantique, minus datum ad occultandam facinoris invidiam, *Sane* inquit *legem Iuliam timeo!* coegitque se coram in cubiculo quam posset velocissimum ac praesentaneum coquere; deinde in haedo expertus, postquam is quinque horas protraxit, iterum ac saepius recoctum porcello obiecit; quo statim exanimato, inferri in triclinium darique cenanti secum Britannico imperavit. Et cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset, comitiali morbo ex consuetudine correptum apud convivas ementitus, postero die raptim inter maximos imbres tralaticio extulit funere. Locustae pro navata opera impunitatem praediaque ampla, sed et discipulos dedit.

Murder of Agrippina

34 Matrem, facta dictaque sua exquirentem acerbius et corrigentem, hactenus primo gravabatur ut invidia identidem oneraret, quasi cessurus imperio Rhodumque abiturus, mox et honore omni et potestate privavit, abductaque militum et Germanorum statione, contubernio quoque ac Palatio expulit; neque in divexanda quicquam pensi habuit,

summissis qui et Romae morantem litibus et in secessu quiescentem per convicia et iocos terra marique praetervehentes inquietarent. Verum minis eius ac violentia territus perdere statuit; et cum ter veneno temptasset sentiretque antidotis praemunitam, lacunaria, quae noctu super dormientem laxata machina deciderent, paravit. Hoc consilio per conscios parum celato, solutilem navem, cuius vel naufragio vel camarae ruina periret, commentus est, atque ita reconciliatione simulata, iucundissimis litteris Baias evocavit ad sollemnia Quinquatruum simul celebranda; datoque negotio trierarchis, qui liburnicam qua advecta erat velut fortuito concursu confringerent, protraxit convivium, repetentique Baulos in locum corrupti navigii machinosum illud obtulit, hilare prosecutus atque in digressu papillas quoque exosculatus. Reliquum temporis cum magna trepidatione vigilavit, opperiens coeptorum exitum. Sed ut diversa omnia nandoque evasisse eam comperit, inops consilii L. Agerinum libertum eius, salvam et incolumem cum gaudio nuntiantem, abiecto clam iuxta pugione, ut percussorem sibi subornatum arripi constringique iussit, matrem occidi, quasi deprehensum crimen voluntaria morte vitasset. Adduntur his atrociora, nec incertis auctoribus: ad visendum interfectae cadaver accurrisse, contrectasse membra, alia vituperasse, alia laudasse, sitique interim oborta bibisse. Neque tamen conscientiam sceleris, quamquam et militum et senatus populique gratulationibus confirmaretur, aut statim aut umquam postea ferre potuit, saepe confessus exagitari se materna specie verberibusque Furiarum ac taedis ardentibus. Quin et facto per Magos sacro evocare Manes et exorare temptavit. Peregrinatione quidem Graeciae et Eleusinis sacris, quorum ini-

tiatione impii et scelerati voce praeconis summoventur, interesse non ausus est.

Murder of his aunt Lepida

Iunxit parricidio matris amitae necem. Quam cum ex duritie alvi cubantem visitaret, et illa tractans lanuginem eius, ut assolet, iam grandis natu per blanditias forte dixisset: *Simul hanc excepero, mori volo:* conversus ad proximos *confestim se positurum* velut irridens ait, praecepitque medicis ut largius purgarent aegram, necdum defunctae bona invasit, suppresso testamento, ne quid abscederet.

His wives

35 Uxores praeter Octaviam duas postea duxit: Poppaeam Sabinam, quaestorio patre natam et equiti Romano antea nuptam, deinde Statiliam Messalinam, Tauri bis consulis ac triumphalis abneptem. Qua ut poteretur, virum eius Atticum Vestinum consulem in honore ipso trucidavit. Octaviae consuetudinem cito aspernatus, corripientibus amicis *sufficere illi debere* respondit *uxoria ornamenta.* Eandem mox saepe frustra strangulare meditatus, dimisit ut sterilem, sed improbante divortium populo nec parcente conviciis, etiam relegavit, denique occidit sub crimine adulteriorum adeo inpudenti falsoque, ut in quaestione pernegantibus cunctis Anicetum paedagogum suum indicem subiecerit, qui dolo stupratam a se fateretur. Poppaeam, duodecimo die post divortium Octaviae in matrimonium acceptam, dilexit unice; et tamen ipsam quoque ictu calcis occidit, quod se ex aurigatione sero reversum gravida et aegra conviciis incesserat. Ex hac filiam tulit Claudiam Augustam, amisitque admodum infantem.

Nullum adeo necessitudinis genus est, quod non scelere perculerit. Antoniam Claudi filiam, recusantem post Poppaeae mortem nuptias suas, quasi molitricem novarum

rerum interemit. Similiter ceteros aut affinitate aliqua sibi aut propinquitate coniunctos; in quibus Aulum

Cruelty to relatives and to others

Plautium iuvenem, quem cum ante mortem per vim conspurcasset, *Eat nunc* inquit *mater mea et successorem meum osculetur!* iactans dilectum ab ea et ad spem imperii impulsum. Privignum Rufium Crispinum Poppaea natum, impuberem adhuc, quia ferebatur ducatus et imperia ludere, mergendum mari, dum piscaretur, servis ipsius demandavit. Tuscum nutricis filium relegavit, quod in procuratione Aegypti balineis in adventum suum exstructis lavisset. Senecam praeceptorem ad necem compulit, quamvis saepe commeatum petenti bonisque cedenti persancte iurasset, suspectum se frustra periturumque potius quam nociturum ei. Burro praefecto remedium ad fauces pollicitus, toxicum misit. Libertos divites et senes, olim adoptionis mox dominationis suae fautores atque rectores, veneno, partim cibis partim potionibus indito, intercepit.

Nec minore saevitia foris et in exteros grassatus est. 36
Stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes oriri coeperat. Anxius ea re, ut ex Balbillo astrologo didicit, solere reges talia ostenta caede aliqua illustri expiare atque a semet in capita procerum depellere, nobilissimo cuique exitium destinavit; enimvero multo magis et quasi per iustam causam duabus coniurationibus provulgatis, quarum prior maiorque Pisoniana Romae, posterior Viniciana Beneventi conflata atque detecta est. Coniurati e vinculis triplicium catenarum dixere causam, cum quidam ultro crimen faterentur, nonnulli etiam imputarent, tamquam *aliter illi non possent nisi morte succurrere dedecorato flagitiis omnibus.* Damnatorum liberi urbe pulsi enecti-

que veneno aut fame; constat, quosdam cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos, alios diurnum victum prohibitos quaerere.

37 Nullus posthac adhibitus dilectus aut modus interimendi quoscumque libuisset quacumque de causa. Sed ne de pluribus referam, Salvidieno Orfito obiectum est quod tabernas tres de domo sua circa forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset, Cassio Longino iuris consulto ac luminibus orbato, quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassi percussoris Caesaris imagines retinuisset, Paeto Thraseae tristior et paedagogi vultus. Mori iussis non amplius quam trium horarum spatium dabat; ac ne quid morae interveniret, medicos admovebat qui cunctantes continuo curarent (ita enim vocabatur venas mortis gratia incidere). Creditur etiam polyphago cuidam Aegypti generis, crudam carnem et quidquid daretur mandere assueto, concupisse vivos homines laniandos absumendosque obicere. Elatus inflatusque tantis velut successibus, negavit *quemquam principum scisse quid sibi liceret,* multasque nec dubias significationes saepe iecit, ne reliquis quidem se parsurum senatoribus, eumque ordinem sublaturum quandoque e re publica ac provincias et exercitus equiti Romano ac libertis permissurum. Certe neque adveniens neque proficiscens quemquam osculo impertiit, ac ne resalutatione quidem; et in auspicando opere Isthmi magna frequentia clare *ut sibi ac populo Romano bene res verteret* optavit, dissimulata senatus mentione.

38 Sed nec populo aut moenibus patriae pepercit. Dicente quodam in sermone communi:

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί!

Immo, inquit, *ἐμοῦ ζῶντος!* planeque ita fecit. Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum aedificiorum et an-

Nero burns Rome

gustiis flexurisque vicorum, incendit urbem tam palam, ut plerique consulares cubicularios eius, cum stuppa taedaque in praediis suis deprehensos, non attigerint; et quaedam horrea circa Domum Auream, quorum spatium maxime desiderabat, ut bellicis machinis labefacta atque inflammata sint, quod saxeo muro constructa erant. Per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est, ad monumentorum bustorumque deversoria plebe compulsa. Tunc praeter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae, deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae dedicataeque, et quidquid visendum atque memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. Hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans laetusque *flammae*, ut aiebat, *pulchritudine* Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantavit. Ac ne non hinc quoque quantum posset praedae et manubiarum invaderet, pollicitus cadaverum et ruderum gratuitam egestionem, nemini ad reliquias rerum suarum adire permisit; collationibusque non receptis modo verum et efflagitatis provincias privatorumque census prope exhausit. Accesserunt tantis ex 39
principe malis probrisque quaedam et fortuita:

Other disasters

pestilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum milia in rationem Libitinae venerunt; clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt; ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armenia sub iugum missis aegreque Syria retenta.

Lampoons directed against Nero

Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuerit, nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut

carminibus lacessissent exstitisse. Multa Graece Latineque proscripta aut vulgata sunt, sicut illa:

Νέρων Ὀρέστης Ἀλκμέων μητροκτόνος.

Νεόνυμφον Νέρων ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε.

Quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,
Noster erit Paean, ille Hecatebeletes.

Roma domus fiet: Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non et Veios occupat ista domus.

Sed neque auctores requisiit et quosdam per indicem delatos ad senatum adfici graviore poena prohibuit. Transeuntem eum Isidorus Cynicus in publico clara voce corripuerat, *quod Naupli mala bene cantitaret, sua bona male disponeret;* et Datus Atellanarum histrio in cantico quodam Ὑγίαινε πάτερ, ὑγίαινε μῆτερ! ita demonstraverat, ut bibentem natantemque faceret, exitum scilicet Claudi Agrippinaeque significans, et in novissima clausula *Orcus vobis ducit pedes* senatum gestu notarat. Histrionem et philosophum Nero nihil amplius quam urbe Italiaque summovit, vel contemptu omnis infamiae vel ne fatendo dolorem irritaret ingenia.

40 Talem principem paulo minus quattuordecim annos perpessus terrarum orbis tandem destituit, initium facientibus Gallis, duce Iulio Vindice, qui tum eam provinciam pro praetore obtinebat.

Uprising led by Vindex in Gaul

Praedictum a mathematicis Neroni olim erat, fore, ut quandoque destitueretur; unde illa vox eius celeberrima:

Τὸ τέχνιον ἡμᾶς διαθρέψει, quo maiore scilicet venia meditaretur citharoedicam artem, principi sibi gratam, privato necessariam. Spoponderant tamen quidam destituto Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem. Cui spei pronior, Britannia Armeniaque amissa ac rursus utraque recepta, defunctum se fatalibus malis existimabat. Ut vero, consulto Delphis Apolline, septuagensimum ac tertium annum cavendum sibi audivit, quasi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil coniectans de aetate Galbae, tanta fiducia non modo senectam sed etiam perpetuam singularemque concepit felicitatem, ut amissis naufragio pretiosissimis rebus non dubitaverit inter suos dicere, *pisces eas sibi relaturos.*

Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat, adeoque lente ac secure tulit ut gaudentis etiam suspicionem praeberet, tamquam occasione nata spoliandarum iure belli opulentissimarum provinciarum; statimque in gymnasium progressus, certantis athletas effusissimo studio spectavit. Cenae quoque tempore interpellatus tumultuosioribus litteris, hactenus excanduit, ut malum iis qui descissent minaretur. Denique per octo continuos dies non rescribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut praecipere conatus, rem silentio oblitteravit. Edictis 41
tandem Vindicis contumeliosis et frequentibus permotus, senatum epistula in ultionem sui reique publicae adhortatus est, excusato languore faucium, propter quem non adesset. Nihil autem aeque doluit, quam ut malum se citharoedum increpitum ac pro Nerone Aenobarbum appellatum. Et nomen quidem gentile, quod sibi per contumeliam exprobraretur, resumpturum se professus est, deposito adoptivo, cetera convicia, ut falsa, non alio ar-

gumento refellebat, quam quod etiam inscitia sibi tanto opere elaboratae perfectaeque a se artis obiceretur, singulos subinde rogitans, *nossentne quemquam praestantiorem.* Sed urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis, Romam praetrepidus rediit; leviterque modo in itinere frivolo auspicio mente recreata, cum annotasset insculptum monumento militem Gallum ab equite Romano oppressum trahi crinibus, ad eam speciem exsiluit gaudio caelumque adoravit. Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu aut populo coram appellato, quosdam e primoribus viris domum evocavit, transactaque raptim consultatione, reliquam diei partem per organa hydraulica novi et ignoti generis circumduxit, ostendensque singula, de ratione ac difficultate cuiusque disserens, *iam se etiam prolaturum omnia in theatrum affirmavit si per Vindicem liceat.*

Galba's revolt in Spain

42 Postquam deinde etiam Galbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, conlapsus animoque male fracto diu sine voce et prope intermortuus iacuit, utque resipiit, veste discissa, capite converberato, *actum de se* pronuntiavit, consolantique nutriculae et aliis quoque iam principibus similia accidisse memoranti, *se vero praeter ceteros inaudita et incognita pati* respondit, *qui summum imperium vivus amitteret.* Nec eo setius quicquam ex consuetudine luxus atque desidiae omisit vel imminuit; quin immo, cum prosperi quiddam ex provinciis nuntiatum esset, super abundantissimam cenam iocularia in defectionis duces carmina lasciveque modulata quae vulgo notuerunt, etiam gesticulatus est; ac spectaculis theatri clam inlatus, cuidam scaenico placenti nuntium misit, *abuti eum occupationibus suis.*

43 Initio statim tumultus, multa et inmania, verum non abhorrentia a natura sua creditur destinasse: successores

percussoresque summittere exercitus et provincias regentibus, quasi conspiratis idemque et unum sentientibus; quidquid ubique exsulum quidquid in urbe hominum Gallicanorum esset contrucidare (illos ne desciscentibus adgregarentur, hos ut conscios popularium suorum atque fautores); Gallias exercitibus diripiendas permittere; senatum universum veneno per convivia necare; urbem incendere, feris in populum immissis, quo difficilius defenderentur. Sed absterritus non tam paenitentia quam perficiendi desperatione, credensque expeditionem necessariam, consules ante tempus privavit honore atque in utriusque locum solus iniit consulatum, quasi fatale esset, non posse Gallias debellari nisi a se consule. Ac susceptis fascibus, cum post epulas triclinio digrederetur, innixus umeris familiarium, affirmavit, *simul ac primum provinciam attigisset, inermem se in conspectum exercituum proditurum nec quicquam aliud quam fleturum, revocatisque ad paenitentiam defectoribus insequenti die laetum inter laetos cantaturum epinicia, quae iam nunc sibi componi oporteret.*

Nero's monstrous designs

In praeparanda expeditione primam curam habuit deli- 44
gendi vehicula portandis scaenicis organis, concubinasque quas secum educeret tondendi ad virilem modum et securibus peltisque Amazonicis instruendi. Mox tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit, ac nullo idoneo respondente certum dominis servorum numerum indixit; nec nisi ex tota cuiusque familia probatissimos, ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis, recepit. Partem etiam census omnes ordines conferre iussit, et insuper inquilinos privatarum aedium atque insularum pensionem

Prepares to go to the Provinces

annuam repraesentare fisco; exegitque ingenti fastidio et acerbitate nummum asperum, argentum pustulatum, aurum ad obrussam, ut plerique omnem collationem palam recusarent, consensu flagitantes, a delatoribus potius revocanda praemia quaecumque cepis-
45 sent. Ex annonae quoque caritate lucranti adcrevit invidia; nam et forte accidit, ut in publica fame Alexandrina navis nuntiaretur pulverem luctatoribus aulicis advexisse.

Odium in which he was held

Quare omnium in se odio incitato, nihil contumeliarum defuit quin subiret. Statuae eius a vertice cirrus appositus est cum inscriptione Graeca, *nunc demum agona esse, et traderet tandem!* Alterius collo ascopera deligata, simulque titulus: *Ego quid potui? sed tu culleum meruisti.* Ascriptum et columnis, *iam Gallos eum cantando excitasse.* Iam noctibus iurgia cum servis plerique simulantes, crebro *Vindicem* poscebant.

46 Terrebatur ad hoc evidentibus portentis somniorum et auspiciorum et ominum, cum veteribus tum novis. Numquam antea somniare solitus, occisa demum matre vidit per quietem, navem sibi regenti extortum gubernaculum, trahique se ab Octavia uxore in artissimas tenebras et modo pinnatarum formicarum multitudine oppleri, modo a simulacris gentium ad Pompei theatrum dedicatarum circumiri arcerique progressu; asturconem, quo maxime laetabatur, posteriore corporis parte in simiae speciem transfiguratum, ac tantum capite integro hinnitus edere canoros. De Mausoleo, sponte foribus patefactis, exaudita vox est nomine eum cientis. Kal. Ian. exornati Lares in ipso sacrificii apparatu conciderunt; auspicanti Sporus anulum muneri obtulit, cuius gemmae sculptura erat

Omens of approaching disaster

Proserpinae raptus; votorum nuncupatione, magna iam ordinum frequentia, vix repertae Capitoli claves. Cum ex oratione eius, qua in Vindicem perorabat, recitaretur in senatu, daturos poenas sceleratos ac brevi dignum exitum facturos, conclamatum est ab universis: *Tu facies, Auguste!* Observatum etiam fuerat, novissimam fabulam cantasse eum publice Oedipodem exsulem atque in hoc desisse versu:

Θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος, μήτηρ, πατήρ.

Nuntiata interim etiam ceterorum exercituum defec- 47
tione, litteras prandenti sibi redditas concerpsit, mensam subvertit, duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homerios a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat, solo inlisit, ac sumpto a Locusta veneno et in auream pyxidem condito, transiit in hortos Servilianos, ubi, praemissis libertorum fidissimis Ostiam ad classem praeparandam, tribunos centurionesque praetorii de fugae societate temptavit. Sed partim tergiversantibus, partim aperte detrectantibus, uno vero etiam proclamante: *Usque adeone mori miserum est?* varie agitavit, Parthosne an Galbam supplex peteret, an atratus prodiret in publicum proque rostris quanta maxima posset miseratione veniam praeteritorum precaretur, ac ni flexisset animos, vel Aegypti praefecturam concedi sibi oraret. Inventus est postea in scrinio eius hac de re sermo formatus; sed deterritum putant, ne prius quam in forum perveniret discerperetur.

Nero's abject conduct

Sic cogitatione in posterum diem dilata, ad mediam fere noctem excitatus, ut comperit stationem militum recessisse, prosiluit e lecto misitque circum amicos, et quia nihil a quoquam renuntiabatur, ipse cum paucis hospitia singulorum adiit. Verum clausis omnium fori-

bus, respondente nullo, in cubiculum rediit, unde iam et custodes diffugerant, direptis etiam stragulis, amota et pyxide veneni; ac statim Spiculum mirmillonem vel quemlibet alium percussorem, cuius manu periret, requisiit, et nemine reperto, *Ergo ego*, inquit, *nec amicum habeo nec inimicum?* procurritque, quasi praecipitaturus
48 se in Tiberim. Sed revocato rursus impetu, aliquid secretioris latebrae ad colligendum animum desideravit, et offerente Phaonte liberto suburbanum suum inter Salariam et Nomentanam viam circa quartum miliarium, ut erat nudo pede atque tunicatus, paenulam obsoleti coloris superinduit, adopertoque capite et ante faciem obtento sudario equum inscendit, quattuor solis comitantibus, inter quos et Sporus erat. Statimque tremore terrae et fulgure adverso pavefactus, audiit e proximis castris clamorem militum et sibi adversa et Galbae prospera ominantium, etiam ex obviis viatoribus quendam dicentem: *Hi Neronem persequuntur*, alium sciscitantem: *Ecquid in urbe novi de Nerone?* Equo autem odore abiecti in via cadaveris consternato, detecta facie agnitus est a quodam missicio praetoriano et salutatus. Ut ad deverticulum ventum est, dimissis equis, inter fruticeta ac vepres per arundineti semitam aegre nec nisi strata sub pedibus veste ad aversum villae parietem evasit. Ibi hortante eodem Phaonte, ut interim in specum egestae harenae concederet, negavit *se vivum sub terram iturum*, ac parumper commoratus, dum clandestinus ad villam introitus pararetur, aquam ex subiecta lacuna poturus manu hausit et *Haec est*, inquit, *Neronis decocta!* dein, divolsa sentibus paenula, traiectos surculos rasit. Atque ita quadripes per angustias effossae cavernae receptus in proximam

Nero's flight from Rome

cellam, decubuit super lectum modica culcita, vetere pallio strato, instructum; fameque et iterum siti interpellante, panem quidem sordidum oblatum aspernatus est, aquae autem tepidae aliquantum bibit. Tunc uno 49
quoque hinc inde instante ut quam primum se impendentibus contumeliis eriperet, scrobem coram fieri imperavit, dimensus ad corporis sui modulum, componique simul, si qua invenirentur, frusta marmoris, et aquam simul ac ligna conferri curando mox cadaveri, flens ad singula atque identidem dictitans: *Qualis artifex pereo!*

His death

Inter moras perlatos a cursore Phaonti codicillos praeripuit legitque, se hostem a senatu iudicatum et quaeri, ut puniatur *more maiorum*, interrogavitque quale id genus esset poenae; et cum comperisset, nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi, conterritus duos pugiones, quos secum extulerat, arripuit, temptataque utriusque acie rursus condidit, causatus *nondum adesse fatalem horam;* ac modo Sporum hortabatur ut lamentari ac plangere inciperet, modo orabat ut se aliquis ad mortem capessendam exemplo iuvaret; interdum segnitiem suam his verbis increpabat: *Vivo deformiter,* [*turpiter* *] — οὐ πρέπει Νέρωνι, οὐ πρέπει — νήφειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις — ἄγε ἔγειρε σεαυτόν! Iamque equites appropinquabant, quibus praeceptum erat ut vivum eum adtraherent. Quod ut sensit, trepidanter effatus:

Ἵππων μ᾽ ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὔατα βάλλει —

ferrum iugulo adegit, iuvante Epaphrodito a libellis. Semianimisque adhuc irrumpenti centurioni et paenula ad vulnus adposita in auxilium se venisse simulanti non aliud respondit quam *Sero!* et *Haec est fides!* Atque in ea voce defecit, exstantibus rigentibusque oculis usque ad horro-

rem formidinemque visentium. Nihil prius aut magis a comitibus exegerat quam ne potestas cuiquam capitis sui fieret, sed ut quoquo modo totus cremaretur. Permisit hoc Icelus Galbae libertus, non multo ante vinculis exsolutus, in quae primo tumultu coniectus fuerat.

50 Funeratus est impensa ducentorum milium, stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus Kal. Ian. fuerat. Reliquias Ecloge et Alexandria nutrices cum Acte concubina gentili Domitiorum monumento condiderunt, quod prospicitur e campo Martio impositum colliculo Hortulorum. In eo monumento solium porphyretici marmoris, superstante Lunensi ara, circumsaeptum est lapide Thasio.

Burial

51 Statura fuit prope iusta, corpore maculoso et fetido, subflavo capillo, vultu pulchro magis quam venusto, oculis caesis et hebetioribus, cervice obesa, ventre proiecto, gracillimis cruribus, valetudine prospera (nam qui luxuriae immoderatissimae esset, ter omnino per quattuordecim annos languit, atque ita ut neque vino neque consuetudine reliqua abstineret); circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut comam semper in gradus formatam peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem summiserit, ac plerumque, synthesinam indutus, ligato circum collum sudario prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalciatus.

Personal appearance

52 Liberalis disciplinas omnis fere puer attigit. Sed a philosophia eum mater avertit, monens imperaturo contrariam esse: a cognitione veterum oratorum Seneca praeceptor, quo diutius in admiratione sui detineret. Itaque ad poeticam pronus, carmina libenter ac sine labore composuit nec, ut quidam putant, aliena pro suis edidit. Venere in

His literary efforts

manus meas pugillares libellique cum quibusdam notis-
simis versibus, ipsius chirographo scriptis, ut facile appa-
reret non tralatos aut dictante aliquo exceptos, sed plane
quasi a cogitante atque generante exaratos; ita multa et
deleta et inducta et superscripta inerant. Habuit et 53
pingendi fingendique non mediocre studium.

His passion for popular applause

Maxime autem populāritate efferebatur, omnium aemu-
lus, qui quoquo modo animum vulgi moverent. Exiit
opinio, post scaenicas coronas proximo lustro
descensurum eum ad Olympia inter athletas;
nam et luctabatur assidue, nec aliter certa-
mina gymnica tota Graecia spectaverat quam brabeu-
tarum more in stadio humi assidens ac, si qua paria
longius recessissent, in medium manibus suis protrahens.
Destinaverat etiam, quia Apollinem cantu, Solem auri-
gando aequiperare existimaretur, imitari et Herculis
facta; praeparatumque leonem aiunt, quem vel clava vel
brachiorum nexibus in amphitheatri harena spectante
populo nudus elideret. Sub exitu quidem vitae palam 54
voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditurum
se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam
et utricularium, ac novissimo die histrionem saltaturum-
que Vergili Turnum. Et sunt qui tradant, Paridem his-
trionem occisum ab eo quasi gravem adversarium. Erat 55
illi aeternitatis perpetuaeque famae cupido, sed incon-
sulta. Ideoque multis rebus ac locis, vetere appellatione
detracta, novam indixit ex suo nomine, mensem quoque
Aprilem Neroneum appellavit; destinaverat et Romam
Neropolim nuncupare.

Religionum usquequaque contemptor, praeter unius 56
Deae Syriae. Hanc mox ita sprevit ut urina contami-
naret, alia superstitione captus, in qua sola pertinacissime

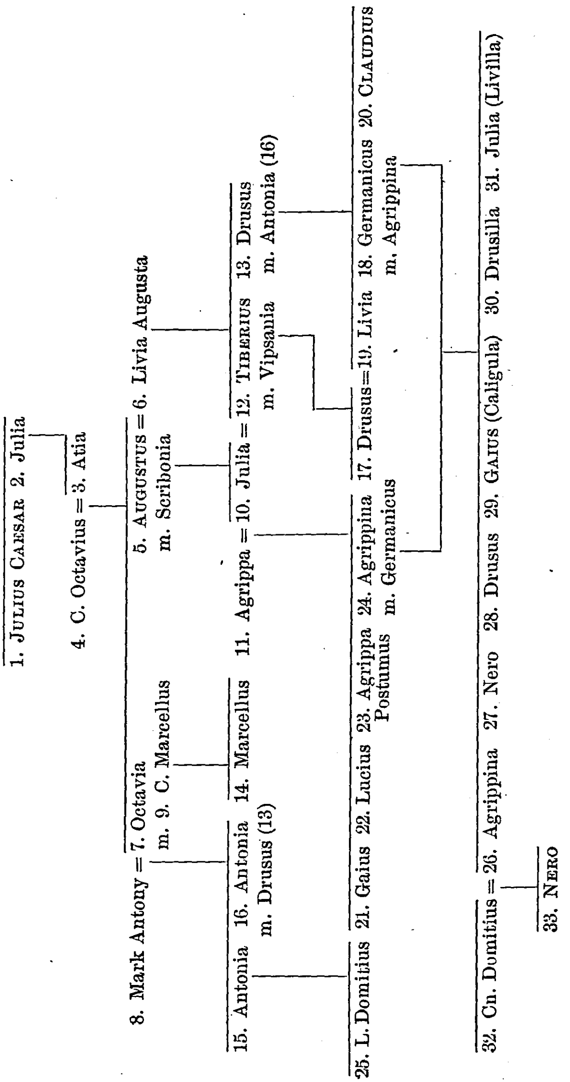
haesit. Siquidem imagunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum a plebeio quodam et ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim coniuratione, pro summo numine trinisque in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit, volebatque credi monitione eius futura praenoscere. Ante paucos quam periret menses attendit et exstispicio, nec umquam litavit.

Impiety and superstition

57 Obiit tricensimo et secundo aetatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat, tantumque gaudium publice praebuit, ut plebs pilleata tota urbe discurreret. Et tamen non defuerunt qui per longum tempus vernis aestivisque floribus tumulum eius ornarent, ac modo imagines praetextatas in rostris proferrent, modo edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri. Quin etiam Vologesus Parthorum rex, missis ad senatum legatis de instauranda societate, hoc etiam magno opere oravit ut Neronis memoria coleretur. Denique cum post viginti annos, adulescente me, exstitisset condicionis incertae qui se Neronem esse iactaret, tam favorabile nomen eius apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adiutus et vix redditus sit.

Nero's memory abhorred by some, revered by others

STEMMA OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.



NOTES.

TIBERIUS (14–37 A.D.).

Principal sources: Tacitus, *Annals*, i.-vi.; Suetonius; Dio Cassius, lvii., lviii.; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 123–131.

Tiberius was the heir of Augustus, but the latter did not have the right to bequeath his power as princeps. The ex-Empress Livia, because of her native ability and her exalted position (she had been adopted by Augustus in his will, and had received the name Julia and the title Augusta), had a large following of devoted friends. Germanicus, more closely related to Augustus than Tiberius and dearly loved by his soldiers, might have been a dangerous rival had he so willed. These facts made Tiberius cautious, and only gradually did he assume complete control of the government. The death of Germanicus in the East, removing, as it did, a possible rival, was generally attributed to poison administered by Piso at the instigation of Tiberius. Of this, however, there is absolutely no proof. Early in the reign, the election of magistrates passed from the comitia to the senate. This body Tiberius treated with studied respect. Many of its members, however, he viewed with suspicion, and a wider application was given to the law of treason, resulting in the growth of an infamous class of professional informers. Of great significance was the concentration in a permanent camp at Rome of the praetorian cohorts. Their commander, Sejanus, became the most powerful official under the emperor. On the fall of Sejanus, Macro succeeded as *praefectus praetorio*. The prolonged absence of Tiberius from Rome resulted in making his representative in the city (the *praefectus urbi*) a permanent official. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius agree in picturing Tiberius as a man of gloom and suspicion, who finally degenerated into a bloodthirsty tyrant. Velleius, who treats of the period before Tiberius' accession and the early years of his principate, writes in a style so laudatory that he excites suspicion as to his sincerity. Tacitus is unjust, in that he attributes to Tiberius those motives that best support his own theory, which was that Tiberius was a hypocrite during all his earlier years, and only in the latter portion of his life showed his true colors. All three note a change for the worse in

Tiberius' character after the discovery of Sejanus' treachery. The provincial writers Strabo, Philo, and Josephus speak in terms of gratitude of Tiberius' rule.

In early life, Tiberius proved himself a general of marked ability. As emperor, he displayed wisdom in the administration of the finances of the state, and aimed to secure good government, particularly in the provinces. After his death senatorial writings misrepresented his conduct as a ruler. His natural sternness and moroseness made him unpopular, and this unpopularity resulted in a gross exaggeration, on the part of the people, of his licentiousness and cruelty. These vices, however, he did possess, and they became more marked as he grew older and more timid.

Page 1. 6. **Regillis**: the exact location of Regilli is unknown.

8. **clientium**: Livy, ii. 16. 4, uses this word in the same connection. *Clientela* seems to have existed among the Sabines and Etruscans, and was an institution perhaps universal in ancient Italy. The word is probably not used technically here, but merely designates a family and its dependents.

9. **Tito Tatio**: king of the Sabines; *cf.* Livy, i. 13. 4.

10. **Atta Claudio**: Livy, ii. 16. 4, gives his name as Attius Clausus and states that he was known at Rome as Appius Claudius.

11. **sexto fere anno**: 504 B.C. (traditional chronology). **cooptata**: *cooptare* is used to signify the act of a body electing its own members. It is here technically used of the act of the *comitia curiata* in admitting a foreign clan into a patrician gens. When a plebeian was so admitted, the act was called *allectio*, not *cooptatio*; *cf.* Nero, chap. 1. 16.

12. **locumque sibi . . . accepit**: a special privilege granted distinguished men, since interment and cremation within the walls of the city were afterward forbidden by a statute of the Twelve Tables, x., *hominem mortuom in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.*

15. **ovationes**: the ovation was granted generals who, while they had distinguished themselves, had not done so in such a marked degree as to warrant the granting of a triumph. The general entered the city on foot (not in the chariot) and clad in the *toga praetexta* (not the *toga picta*), often unaccompanied by his troops. The ceremonies terminated with the sacrifice of a sheep (hence *ovatio*), instead of a bull as in the case of a triumph.

17. **consensu**: *by common consent.* The Ciceronian expression is *omnium consensu.*

18. eo: *sc. cognomine*, and construe with *praeditis*.

20. quo significatur, *etc.*: *cf.* Aul. Gell. xiii. 23: "*Nerio* is a word of Sabine origin, signifying manliness and bravery. The Claudii, we are told, are of Sabine descent, and hence they give the name Nero to those of their line distinguished for bravery." The root of the word Nero is the same as in the Greek ἀνήρ.

23. setius: a euphemistic way of saying that harm was done the state. *Cf.* the expression *secus de aliquo dicere*, 'to speak ill of any one.'

Page 2. **1. Appius . . . dissuasit**: the incident referred to occurred after the defeat of the Romans at Heraclea, 280 B.C., by Pyrrhus, who then sent proposals of peace to Rome. The blind Appius, who was now old and feeble, had himself carried into the senate, and spoke so effectively against the proposed peace that the senate rejected the king's offer. Appius' speech was still extant in the time of Cicero, who, in speaking of him, *De Senect.* 6, quotes these lines, which Ennius represents the old hero as addressing to the senate on the occasion:

Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
Antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?

2. iniri: for the infinitive, see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1). **Claudius . . . expulit**: 264 B.C., corroborated by Vell. Pat. ii. 38. 2.

4. Tib. Nero . . . oppressit: 207 B.C.; *cf.* Livy, xxvii. 40–49.

6. Annibali: another spelling for *Hannibali*.

7. contra Claudius . . . asserere conatus: 449 B.C. (traditional chronology). For the story of Virginia, see Livy, iii. 44–48. **legibus scribendis**: dative of purpose. This gerundive construction is often employed with names of officials, to designate their duties.

9. secedendi rursus: *i.e.* the second secession of the plebs, the first having taken place in 494 B.C. The story of Virginia, whether or not it ever had its origin in fact, was employed as a picturesque explanation of the action of the plebeians. They probably seceded because they distrusted the sincerity of the patricians' promises of reform.

10. statua . . . posita, *etc.*: nothing further is known of the occurrences referred to in this sentence. *Forum Appi* was a village on the Appian Way southeast of Rome. Mommsen believes that the person referred to in the passage must have been Appius Caecus, and not Claudius Drusus, whoever this was. Max Ihm suggests *Russus* for

Drusus, a cognomen by which Caecus' eldest son was known; see *Hermes*, xxxvi. 2.

12. Claudius Pulcher . . . iniit: Cicero tells the story, *N.D.* ii. 3. 7; *cf.* Livy, *Epit.* xix. **apud Siciliam**: see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

13. non pascentibus, *etc.*: auspices taken from the feeding of chickens were especially employed on military expeditions. If the chickens refused to eat the *puls* thrown to them by the *pullarius*, the omens were unfavorable. If, on the contrary, they ate with such greed that some of the food fell from the mouth to the ground, it was considered an especially favorable sign (*tripudium solistimum*).

14. quasi: the word is here used to introduce the thought or words of Claudius. **esse**: from *edo*.

15. dictatorem dicere: the technical expression for naming a dictator.

17. viatorem: a servant who attended upon and executed the commands of certain Roman magistrates. When the magistrates did not possess lictors, the viatores took their place. If the magistrates possessed lictors, the viatores were subordinate to them. The viatores were generally of low birth, hence the insult to the public in Pulcher's action.

20. Matris deum: Cybele, whose earliest sanctuary and oldest effigy, a stone that had fallen from heaven, stood upon Mt. Dindymus in Phrygia. The worship of the Great Mother was introduced into Rome in 204 B.C., at the command of a Sibylline oracle, and for the purpose of driving Hannibal from Italy. The festival of the goddess in April was called the Megalesia, and her attendants were the emasculated Galli.

21. si sibi, *etc.*: *if her chastity was beyond question*, *i.e.* if her reputation for chastity was well deserved. The *si* clause explains the *ita*, while *demum* implies that her prayer was, that the ship might *not* follow unless she was chaste. This Claudia was probably a Vestal. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 305 *seq.*, in telling this story, says that her chastity was unjustly impugned. He puts this prayer into the mouth of the virgin:

Supplicis, alma, tuae, genetrix fecunda deorum,
Accipe sub certa condicione preces.
Casta negor. Si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor;
Morte luam poenas iudice victa dea.
Sed, si crimen abest, tu nostrae pignora vitae
Re dabis, et castas casta sequere manus.

After Claudia had offered this prayer, the boat followed her.

22. **et quae . . . subiit**: see the story in Aul. Gell. x. 6. **novo more**; *i.e.* a woman had not been convicted on this charge before.

23. **maiestatis**: *sc. minutae* or *laesae*. The majesty of the state is meant.

25. **Pulcher**: this is the Pulcher mentioned in line 3 above. In consequence of his disregard of the omens, his fleet was destroyed and many Romans perished.

27. **dumtaxat**: see Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

28. **ob expellendum,** *etc.*: *ob* with the gerundive to denote purpose is rather rare; *ad* or *causa* is usually employed. *Cf.* Sall. *Jug.* 89. 2, *existimans Iugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum.* **plebeio homini**: Fonteius was his name; *cf.* Cic. *de domo sua,* 14. 35. Clodius did this that he might be eligible for the office of tribune of the plebs, the only office open to him in which he could introduce a bill for the banishment of Cicero.

30. **assertoresque unicos,** *etc.*: the belief that the members of the Claudian gens systematically opposed and hated the plebeians has been shaken by Mommsen. The decemvir, at least, seems to have been their friend.

Page 3. 1. **mutare vestem**: the regular Latin expression for putting on mourning garb as a sign of distress.

3. **tribunos plebi pulsaverint**: an act of impiety, as the person of a tribune of the plebs was *sacrosanct.*

4. **fratrem**: Valerius Maximus, v. 4. 6, says that the Vestal did this for her father. So Cicero, *pro Cael.* 14. 34. Her father (or brother) was consul in 143 B.C. The reason the tribune had for interfering was the fact that the ceremony was being held illegally.

8. **utrumque**: *on both sides.*

11. **materno avo**: *i.e.* the father of Tiberius' mother, Livia.

12. **quamquam**: see Introd. § 6, *a*.

15. **Salinatore**: M. Livius Salinator was condemned on the charge of having unfairly divided the booty taken in the war against the Illyrians, and he abstained from taking part in public life for a considerable time thereafter. In his second consulship (207 B.C.) he helped Claudius Nero, his colleague, defeat Hasdrubal on the Metaurus. When censor in 204 B.C. he imposed a tax upon salt, raising the price of this necessary article, in consequence of which the surname *Salinator* was given him in derision. *Cf.* Livy, xxix. 37. 4. **Drusisque**: Drusus was the name of a distinguished family of the Livian gens. With regard to the founder of the family

nothing can be added to the account, probably legendary, given by Suetonius.

16. universas tribus: *i.e.* the whole thirty-five. Livy states that he spared the Maecian tribe. **notavit**: in the technical sense of affixing the mark of disgrace (*nota*) to one's name on the census roll. **levitatis nomine**: *because of their fickleness*; *cf.* Livy, xxix. 37. 13 *seq.*

21. pro praetore: this form of expression is used, as well as the nominative *propraetor*. **Gallia**: *i.e.* cisalpine Gaul.

22. Senonibus: the Senones, the tribe of Gauls who sacked Rome in 390 B.C.

23. a Camillo: *by Camillus.* **abnepos**: for the force of the prefix, see note on p. 107. 3. Possibly, instead of meaning a grandson's grandson, the word is here used indefinitely of a more distant descendant; *cf. atavus.* The individual referred to is Livius Drusus, the tribune, who was colleague of C. Gracchus in 122 B.C. The senate, frightened by the growing popularity of Gracchus, employed Drusus to oppose him and undermine his influence. After thwarting many of the measures of Gracchus, he proposed and carried several of virtually the same purport, for which the senate secured credit; hence the expression, *ob eximiam operam*, 'because of distinguished services.'

24. filium: the life of this Livius Drusus (tribune, 91 B.C.) was an active and exciting one. At first an advocate of the optimates, under pretext of supporting his party he courted the favor of the plebeians by imitating the measures of the Gracchi. He promised to secure for the Italian allies the right of citizenship, and by their support and that of the populace was able to force through certain measures, especially that with regard to the *iudicia.* His supporters became dissatisfied with him because he failed to fulfil all his promises. The consuls, who viewed him as a conspirator, plotted against him and he fell by the hand of an assassin.

29. P. Scipionis: father-in-law of Pompey. After his defeat in Africa at the battle of Thapsus, 46 B.C., he slew himself.

30. Galliam: *i.e.* transalpine Gaul.

31. quis: the post-Augustan writers are fond of using this old form of the dative and ablative of the pronoun. **Narbo et Arelate**: cities of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and centres of Roman civilization in Gaul. The Roman remains at *Arelate*, Arles, — aqueduct, theatre, amphitheatre, *etc.*, — are deservedly famous.

32. abolitionem facti decernentibus: *voting in favor of amnesty. Facti* refers to the murder of Caesar.

Page 4. **1. referendum censuit**: *he spoke in favor of entertaining a motion. Referendum* is the periphrastic infinitive.

2. exitu anni: probably 42 B.C.

3. triumviros: Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus. **retentis . . . insignibus**: *i.e.* having retained the office. The *insignia* were the *toga praetexta*, the *sella curulis*, two lictors within the city, and six when the praetor was on foreign service.

4. L. Antonium: consul in 41 B.C. This Lucius and Fulvia, Pompey's wife, for the purpose of causing dissension between Octavian and Pompey, refused to fulfil the part of the agreement made between Octavian and Mark Antony, whereby the former was to have two of Antony's legions. In the contest that resulted, Lucius and Fulvia were shut up in Perusia and forced to surrender after a long siege, 40 B.C.

5. ad Perusiam: *to the neighborhood of Perusia.*

6. in partibus: *in allegiance.* The plural is usually employed to denote a party or faction.

7. ad pilleum: the *pilleus* was a felt cap placed upon the head of a slave when he was freed; *cf.* the scene in Petronius, 41. The expression therefore means, 'to summon to freedom,' *i.e.* he promised them freedom if they joined him. **in Siciliam profugit**: Velleius Paterculus, ii. 75, tells how Livia, a woman noted for her virtue and beauty, carrying in her arms the babe who in after years was to be emperor, accompanied her husband in this flight from a man who was soon to marry her and make her an empress.

9. Sexti Pompei: who had command of the forces and fleet of the republic in Sicily. **fascium usu prohibitum**: because he no longer had a right to them. See note on p. 4. 3.

11. brevi . . . pace: the peace of Brundisium, 40 B.C., according to which Antony was to govern east of the Adriatic and have charge of the Parthian war. Lepidus was to have Africa; Octavian all the rest, with the task of crushing Sextus. Antony was to confirm the peace by marrying Octavia, Caesar's sister. This peace was supplemented a few months later by that of Misenum, by which terms were made with Sextus.

13. filium: *sc. Tiberium.* **petenti Augusto**: *cf.* note on p. 4. 7, and *Aug.* 62, *Liviam Drusillam matrimonio Tiberi Neronis et quidem praegnantem abduxit, dilexitque et probavit unice ac perseveranter.* Livia seems to have been a high-minded and virtuous woman of no mean ability. Shuckburgh, in his note on the above passage, has cited most of the statements in ancient authors in which she is mentioned.

15. Druso: born after Livia's marriage to Augustus.

16. Fundis: *Fundi*, the modern Fondi, was an ancient town of Latium on the Appian Way.

20. in Palatio: *on the Palatine;* the fashionable quarter.

21. XVI Kal. Dec.: November 16, 42 B.C.

22. per bellum Philippense: *i.e.* the campaign conducted by Antony and Octavian against the tyrannicides headed by Brutus and Cassius. The struggle was terminated by the battle of Philippi, fought in the autumn of 42 B.C.

23. actaque: *acta*, sometimes used alone, sometimes modified by the words *publica*, *diurna*, *urbana*, *populi*, *etc.*, signifies the official gazette published at Rome. This was the nearest approach to a modern newspaper among the Romans. The *acta* contained information of more general interest than the *fasti*, which were official records. *Acta* is sometimes used to signify the minutes or records of enactments; *cf. Tib.* chap. 73. 5, *in actis senatus.*

24. Hirti ac Pansae: Hirtius was an officer and friend of Caesar, and completed Caesar's commentaries on the Gallic war by adding the eighth book. While coöperating with Octavian, he defeated Antony at Mutina, 43 B.C., but was killed while storming the town. Pansa had been wounded in a previous engagement at Mutina, dying a fortnight after. The death of the consuls, leaving the republic without its chief magistrates, greatly strengthened the position of Octavian.

27. infantiam pueritiamque habuit, *etc.*: *he passed his infancy and youth amid hardships and disturbances.*

28. apud Neapolim: for the force of *apud*, see Introd. II. § 5 (1). This use of *apud* is much affected by Suetonius and Tacitus.

29. sub irruptionem hostis: *i.e.* just as the foe was breaking into the city.

Page 5. **1. mulierculas**: the diminutive is frequently used to indicate the weakness of the sex.

3. in tutela Claudiorum: *i.e.* the Claudian gens acted as their patrons.

9. bullae aureae: the *bulla* was a hollow disk of gold, silver, or leather, containing a charm, which was hung around the neck of boys as a protection against the Evil Eye. The golden bulla was an indication of high birth.

11. nomine: *sc. Gallio.* All that is known of this Gallius, is that he was of praetorian rank and belonged to the party of Antony.

12. partium: on the plural, see note on p. 4. 6.

13. pro rostris: *on the front part of*, *i.e. from the rostra.*

14. laudavit: the delivery of a eulogy (*laudatio funebris*) was a regular part of the *funus* of a distinguished man. It was usually pronounced by a near relative of the deceased, but in the case of a *funus publicum*, the duty might be assigned to a magistrate. **Actiaco triumpho**: mentioned in *Aug.* 22 as one of his three greater triumphs; the other two were for his achievements in Dalmatia and at Alexandria. In the naval battle off the promontory of Actium (31 B.C.), Octavian defeated Antony and Cleopatra.

15. sinisteriore funali equo: when four horses were harnessed abreast, the two on the outside were called *funales* (trace-horses) *sinister et dexter*, and the two between these, *iugales* (yoke-horses). Note the rare comparatives of *sinister* and *dexter*. **Marcellus**: this is the Marcellus addressed by Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 860. He was the son of Gaius Claudius Marcellus, who had married the sister of Octavian.

17. asticis ludis: games celebrated in the city, *i.e.* Athens, probably in honor of Bacchus; hence in general, as here, games in honor of Bacchus. The expression occurs only here and in *Calig.* 20. *Actiacis*, the reading of the old editions, has no manuscript authority. **Troiam**: the reading of the Mem. manuscript; *lusit* must be supplied. A number of manuscripts (of the fifteenth century for the most part) read *Troianis*. The *Troia*, or *ludus Troiae*, was an equestrian sham battle, introduced into Italy, according to legend, by Aeneas and the Trojans, as told in the *Aeneid*, v. 545–603. **circensibus**: ablative of time. The games of the circus began with a magnificent procession, which passed from the Capitol through the Forum around to the Circus Maximus, by way of the Forum Boarium. Sometimes the emperor himself, clothed in triumphal robes and riding in a chariot, led the way. A throng of noble citizens followed; then came the horsemen and charioteers who were to take part in the races; and finally, the priests and images of the deities. During the early empire, the usual number of races was ten or twelve per day. Seven times around the spina constituted a course. In addition to the races the young nobles sometimes held reviews and contests at arms, as indicated in the text by the word *Troiam*.

19. virili toga sumpta: the *toga virilis* was the ordinary toga put on by the youth when he discarded the garb of childhood, *toga praetexta*. The ceremony, as introducing the young man to public life, was an important one, and took place in the presence of the relatives and friends of the family, who then accompanied the young man down to the Forum (*deducere in forum*). The *toga virilis* was not,

as a rule, assumed earlier than the fourteenth, nor later than the seventeenth, year.

21. per haec fere: *in the following occupations, not to be too explicit.*

24. amphitheatro: the amphitheatre of Taurus in the Campus Martius, constructed by T. Statilius Taurus, 27 B.C. This was the only permanent structure of the kind in Rome, until the erection of the Flavian Amphitheatre (the Coliseum). **rudiariis**: when honorably discharged, the gladiator was called a *rudiarius*, because as a sign of his dismissal he received a *rudis*, or wooden sword, the instrument with which he had perfected himself in his art. *Cf.* Hor. *Epist.* i. 1. 2.

25. auctoramento centenum milium: *by stipulating to pay them 100,000 sesterces each;* about $5000.

26. inpensa matris: *sc. pecunia*, ablative of attendant circumstance.

27. Agrippinam: her full name was Agrippina Vipsania. **Marco Agrippa**: Augustus' famous general and adviser. He was a fellow-student of Octavius at Apollonia, and afterward took an active part in the civil war, the successful outcome of which was in large part due to his genius. He won for Augustus the battle of Actium. It was at one time thought that Augustus had marked him for his successor. In his third consulship Agrippa built the Pantheon. His second wife was Julia, only child of Augustus. He died 12 B.C. Nepos, *Att.* 12, states that Agrippa, though he might have married a woman of the highest rank, was induced to marry the daughter of a Roman knight because of his admiration for the character of her father, Atticus, who was noted for his generosity and for his readiness to succor those in distress. **Caecili Attici**: T. Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's friend. It will be remembered that Atticus was adopted by his wealthy uncle, Q. Caecilius, and became his heir. According to Roman custom, his name on adoption became Q. Caecilius Pomponianus, his gentile name being retained in the adjective form.

28. ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae: Becker seems right in regarding these words as a gloss.

30. quamquam: for usage, see note on p. 3. 12. **bene convenientem**: *i.e.* although their relations were harmonious.

31. Iuliam: Augustus' only child. Her mother was Scribonia. Though brought up with great strictness, she became notorious for her lax morals (hence *Iuliae mores* below), which so incensed Augustus that he banished her, and even thought of putting her to death; *cf. Aug.* 65, and *Tib.* chap. 11. 26.

Page 6. 2. **ut quam sensisset**: a relative clause expressing cause.

3. **sub priore marito**: *cf. Aug.* 63, *ut is* (Marcellus) *obiit, M. Agrippae nuptum (dedit).*

4. **sed Agrippinam,** *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 12, shows that Tiberius resented her subsequent marriage with Asinius Gallus.

5. **ex occursu**: lit. *on meeting.* In connection with *semel . . . visam*, render, 'the only time that he happened to see her.'

7. **ei**: *i.e.* Tiberius.

9. **dissedit**: *he grew cold toward her.*

11. **Drusum fratrem in Germania,** *etc.*: Dio, lv. 2, says that on hearing of Drusus' illness, Augustus sent Tiberius, who found his brother still alive. Val. Max., v. 5. 3, tells of the grief of Tiberius at the news, and describes his rapid journey to Drusus. The latter was thirty years of age at the time of his death, 8 A.D.

14. **regem Archelaum**: king of Cappadocia.

16. **Augusto cognoscente**: *cognoscere*, as a technical term, signifies 'to conduct a judicial investigation.' The expression means that Augustus presided in this case.

17. **Thyatirenis**: people of Thyatira, a town of Lydia.

19. **Varrone Murena**: he was adopted by P. Terentius Varro, and was known as C. Proculeius Varro Murena. Augustus seems to have reposed great confidence in him, and at one time thought of him as a husband for his daughter Julia. He is the man referred to by Horace, *Carm.* ii. 2. 5. Suetonius, *Aug.* 19, mentions this conspiracy, which was formed in 23 B.C. Caepio and Murena failed to appear at the trial, were condemned in their absence, and afterward put to death. *Cf.* Vell. Pat. ii. 91, *cum iniissent occidendi Caesaris* (*i.e.* Augustus) *consilia, oppressi auctoritate publica, quod vi facere voluerant, iure passi sunt.* Dio, liv. 3, gives the most complete account.

20. **maiestatis**: *treason*; see note on p. 2. 23. Here the majesty of the state, as embodied in the person of the emperor, is meant. **condemnavit**: *brought about his condemnation.*

21. **annonae**: a genitive, looking back to *curam.* The important and arduous task of keeping the city properly supplied with grain which could be sold at a reduced rate was considered a duty of the government. Originally the aediles had the supervision of this matter, but under the empire a *praefectus annonae* was appointed, who became the most important regular imperial official next to the *praefectus praetorio.* Because of the decline of agriculture in Italy, the grain had to be brought from the provinces over the sea, particularly Sicily and Africa. When the importations were delayed by stress of weather

or for other reasons, the supply often ran very low (*cf.* *artior* in the text) and this caused the government extreme anxiety.

22. repurgandorum . . . ergastulorum: the *ergastula* were prisons for slaves who were punished by being made to work in chains in the fields. Augustus, as stated by Suetonius, *Aug.* 33, had ordered these *ergastula* inspected. Tiberius, as here indicated, made a more rigorous investigation. The *ergastula* were done away with entirely by Hadrian.

23. quasi: on usage, see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

25. sacramenti metus: *i.e.* fear of being pressed into military service.

26. expeditione Cantabrica: *i.e.* in one of the two compaigns which Augustus conducted in person. The other was the campaign in Dalmatia; *cf. Aug.* 20. The Cantabri, a wild race of highlanders of northern Spain, made repeated raids upon the tribes subject to Rome. Augustus, in 25 B.C., conducted in person the campaign referred to in the text. They were thoroughly subdued by Agrippa, 19 B.C.

27. ducto ad Orientem exercitu: Velleius, ii. 94, states that Tiberius' conduct was characterized by the display of every virtue in his management of affairs in the east; that he subdued Armenia and gave the throne to Artavasdes. According to Tacitus, Tigranes was first put upon the throne; afterwards, Artavasdes. Armenia had been reduced to the position of a kingdom dependent upon Rome, by Antony's victory over Artabazes, 34 B.C. In 20 B.C. Artaxias, the king, was murdered. Augustus, in the *Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 27, says that he might then have made it a province, but preferred to establish Tigranes upon the throne. This he did at the request of the faction which had killed Artaxias. At the time, Tigranes was living in exile at Rome.

28. pro tribunali: on the force of *pro*, see note on p. 5. 13.

29. recepit et signa: in *Aug.* 21, the recovery, which was effected by compromise, is attributed to Augustus. Tiberius was but his general and representative. These were the standards lost by Crassus, the triumvir, near Carrhae, 53 B.C. Dio, xl. 16–30, gives a detailed account of the disaster.

30. Comatam Galliam: in Cicero's time, all transalpine Gaul was so called (from the retention of the custom of wearing the hair long) to distinguish it from the Romanized cisalpine province (Gallia Togata). Later the name was used to signify *Gallia Belgica*, *Lugdunensis*, and *Aquitania*, as opposed to *Gallia Narbonensis*, anciently called *Gallia Bracata* (wearing trousers).

31. **anno**: see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (1).

32. **Raeticum Vindelicumque**, *etc.*: the early inhabitants of Raetia were said to be Etruscans, but in the Roman period the majority of the inhabitants were Kelts; *cf.* note on p. 76. 12. They were subdued in the reign of Augustus. The *Vindelici* were the most warlike tribe of Vindelicia, which was south of Raetia and afterward a part of that province. Its chief town was *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg). The Pannonians, probably of Illyrian origin, inhabited the region between the Danube and the Alps. They were conquered by the Romans about 33 B.C. In 7 A.D., with the Dalmatians mentioned in the text, they revolted, but were subdued by Tiberius in a three years' struggle, 7–9 A.D. On the campaign in Raetia and Vindelicia, *cf.* Vell. ii. 95; Dio, liv. 22. On the Pannonian campaign, Vell. ii. 96, *subinde bellum Pannonicum, quod incohatum ab Agrippa Marcoque Vinicio, avo tuo consulari magnum atroxque et perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae, per Neronem gestum est.*

Page 7. 3. **Germanico**: *cf. Aug.* 21, *Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium summovit.* Tiberius conducted one of the campaigns.

6. **ovans**: for meaning, see note on p. 1. 15. The chariot, *curru*, is mentioned, because it was not usual for those enjoying an ovation to ride in one. **prius**, *etc.*: Dio, liv. 31, says that the senate voted the triumph, but that Augustus substituted the *ornamenta.* Under the empire, the members of the ruling family alone received the honor of a regular triumph. Others received the *ornamenta* or title (*triumphalis*). The insignia (laurel crown, triumphal robe, and chariot) were given only to the members of the imperial family, so that for others the *ornamenta triumphalia* meant solely the title. *Cf.* the expression *consularia ornamenta*, *etc.*, which means the insignia and honorary privileges, but not the office itself.

9. **maturius**: *i.e.* earlier than the age fixed by law. The earliest ages at which the quaestorship, praetorship, or consulship could be held by law at this period, were twenty-five, thirty, and thirty-two respectively. These offices could not be held successively. At least two years must intervene.

10. **quaesturam**, *etc.*: he was quaestor, 23 B.C., when nineteen years of age; *cf.* Vell. ii. 94; and consul for the first time, 12 B.C.

12. **tribuniciam potestatem**: Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, *filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciae potestatis adsumitur.* The possession of the tribunician power by the emperor was of the greatest significance. To be sure, many of the constitutional powers which it conferred

came to him in other ways as well, but it made his person *sacrosanct*, and pointed him out as the champion of the people. By virtue of it he could veto the action of any magistrate; but his actions could not be vetoed, because he was not a tribune, though he possessed a tribune's power. So important was the tribunician power esteemed, that its bestowal upon a person indicated that he was to be the successor of the reigning prince. It was granted for life to the emperor, and in imperial titles, the number of years it had been held was indicated.

15. dubium uxorisne taedio: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 53, *spreveratque (Iulia) ut imparem (Tiberium) nec alia tam intima Tiberio causa cur Rhodum abscederet.* This was in 6 B.C.; Tiberius was thirty-six years old at the time.

17. assiduitatis fastidio: *assiduitatis* is subjective genitive; *cf.* the saying, 'familiarity breeds contempt.'

19. Augusti liberis: the sons of Agrippa and Julia, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, adopted by Augustus.

21. exemplo M. Agrippae: *cf. Aug.* 66, *cum ille (M. Agrippa) ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferretur, Mytilenas se, relictis omnibus, contulisset.*

22. ne . . . videretur: such is the reason assigned by Vell. ii. 99, *cum Gaius Caesar sumpsisset iam virilem togam, Lucius item maturus esset viribus, ne fulgor suus orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulata causa consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico adquiescendi a continuatione laborum petiit.*

Page 8. **2. ad occasionem maioris spei**: *i.e.* on the chance of being able to realize his expectation of succeeding Augustus on the latter's death. On the clause *quasi . . . commoraretur*, see Introd. II. § 6, *c*.

3. tantum non adversis tempestatibus: *with winds all but dead ahead.*

6. appulisset: the technical word for putting into port, as *solvere* is the technical term for weighing anchor; *navem* is to be understood.

9. mutuaque cum Graeculis, *etc.*: *exchanging courtesies with those Greeks, almost as if he were one of their number.* Note the diminutive *Graeculi*, often used by the Roman writers to signify their contempt for the degenerate Greeks of their day.

12. in civitate: *in the town.* This use of the word *civitas* is, for the most part, post-Augustan.

13. a proximis aliter exceptum: *i.e.* they thought that he

wanted all the sick brought, that he might view them all together. On Tiberius' solicitude for his sick soldiers, *cf.* Vell. ii. 114.

18. unum hoc: explained by the passage beginning *cum circa scholas* below; *modo* is the adverb.

19. exseruisse: *exercised.*

21. antisophistas: *disputing sophists.*

24. apparitoribus: a general term indicating servants of magistrates, scribes, *lictores*, *viatores*, *praecones*, *etc.* It might here refer to his *viatores*.

26. Iuliam uxorem, *etc.*: *cf. Aug.* 65, *Iulias filiam et neptem omnibus probris contaminatas relegavit.*

30. filiae: dative.

31. utcumque meritae: *whatever her conduct.*

32. dedisset: the subject is Tiberius. The exchange of gifts by husband and wife was forbidden by Roman law, except in particular instances. The gifts here mentioned would probably revert to the husband, as the wife was the guilty party.

Page 9. **5. necessitudines**: abstract for concrete; see Introd. II. § 1, *d*.

9. quasi legatus Augusto: *apparently as the representative of Augustus.*

11. obnoxium et trepidum egit: *he lived exposed to dangers and filled with apprehension.* Note that the idiom *agere* followed by the substantive is borrowed from the stage, and really means 'to play the part of,' or 'act like': a form of expression to be distinguished from *agere* used with the reflexive, *se agere*, 'to behave.'

13. officia: *i.e.* the visits of courtesy and the marks of respect which they attempted to show him. **quibus frequentabatur,** *etc.*: *cf.* Vell. ii. 99, 'He spent seven years at Rhodes, and all proconsuls and legates, on the way to their provinces over the sea, used to pay their compliments, and lower their fasces to him, though he was at the time only a private citizen, if such majesty ever was private.'

14. nemine: classic style rejects the ablative and genitive of *nemo*, employing *nullo* and *nullius* instead.

19. M. Lolli: the same who suffered defeat at the hands of the Germans, 16 B.C.; *cf.* Aug. 23. Velleius, ii. 97, has nothing but evil to say of him, calling him greedy, unscrupulous, and extravagant. Horace alone, *Carm.* iv. 9, among ancient writers, has a good word for him, commending his integrity and strength of character.

20. beneficii sui: genitive of quality; see Introd. II. § 2, *d*;

i.e. who had been advanced to their rank by him. **a commeatu, etc.**: *as they were returning to service after a furlough.* They had been on leave of absence, and as they were returning to the East, they stopped to pay their respects to Tiberius. The suspicion was that he had given them treasonable documents to take with them on their way.

25. factis atque dictis: dative governed by verbal noun *custodem.*

27. ad pallium et crepidas: *to the robe and slippers;* namely, the Greek garb in contrast to the Roman toga and sandals.

28. contemptior . . . et invisior: see Introd. II. § 4, *a* (2).

29. Nemausenses: *Nemausus*, modern Nîmes, in *Gallia Narbonensis*, like Arles and Narbonne, is famous for its Roman remains.

Page 10. **3. impensissimis**: see note on p. 9. 28.

5. Augusto: for construction, see Introd. II. § 2, *c* (1). **maioris fili**: Gaius Caesar; see note on p. 7. 19.

6. M. Lollio: see note on p. 9. 19.

7. in vitricum: Tiberius.

8. ne quam . . . attingeret: note that this is not a purpose clause, but an example of the stipulative substantive clause, originating in the jussive subjunctive. A proper understanding of this stipulative construction, first pointed out by Bennett, will be of great assistance to the student. See *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 1900.

14. ovum incubanti, etc.: Pliny, *N. H.* x. 154, in a discussion on the hatching of eggs, cites this story.

20. Caesarum potestate: the empire.

22. apud Philippos: see Introd. II. § 5 (1). **sacratae olim victricium, etc.**: *i.e.* Octavian's victorious legions had erected them.

25. Geryonis oraculum: nothing further is known of this oracle.

26. Apŏni: the *fons Aponi* or *Aponus* was a mineral spring about six miles south of Patavium. **talos**: the dice of the Romans were of two kinds; the *tesserae*, which were cubes like modern dice, and the *tali.* The latter were oblong, and rounded at the ends so that they could not rest upon either of these. Two opposite sides were marked, respectively, I and VI; the other two, III and IV. Four of these *tali* were used in playing. The highest throw was the *iactus venerius* or *Venus*, *i.e.* when all sides came up different; and the lowest throw, the *canis*, *i.e.* when they all displayed the same number. For the description of a game in which a jack-pot was formed, see *Aug.* 71.

28. hodieque: *to this very day.* **ante . . . quam revocaretur**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

29. aquila: Pliny, *N. H.* x. 76, also states that there were no eagles in Rhodes.

32. Thrasyllum, *etc.*: Tac. *Ann.* vi. 21, tells the story more in detail; *cf.* Dio, lv. 11.

Page 11. **1. contubernio**: the use of this word to indicate the abode where people live together, or 'the household,' is post-Augustan; *cf. Calig.* chap. 10. 6. Another late meaning is that of 'intercourse' with one's friends or teachers.

2. tum maxime expertus est: *he on that occasion received the most striking proof of the skill of Thrasyllus. Tum* refers to the time indicated above by *pridie quam, etc.* **nave provisa**: *by the ship seen in the offing;* to be construed with *efferri*, or possibly an ablative absolute denoting time, in which case construe with *affirmantem.* Note the force of the prefix.

4. secretorum temere conscium: *a dangerous confidant;* lit. 'one rashly intrusted with his secrets.'

5. eo ipso momento: *i.e.* just before catching sight of the ship.

7. deducto . . . Druso: on the significance of this act, see note on p. 5. 19.

8. Carinis: *the Carinae* ('The Keels'), a fashionable quarter in Rome, lying between the Caelian and Esquiline hills. **Esquilias**: construed like the name of a town without a preposition. **in hortos Maecenatianos**: these gardens were on the Esquiline Hill, and afterward connected with the imperial residence by a gallery; *cf. Nero,* chap. 31. 2 and note.

10. privata officia: functions such as recitations of literary works, betrothals, marriages, the putting on of the *toga virilis, etc.*; *cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* i. 9. 2.

12. Gaio et Lucio: see note on p. 7. 19. Gaius was treacherously wounded before Atagira in Syria, while treating for its surrender, and died shortly afterward, 3 A.D. Lucius, while on his way to Spain, fell ill at Massilia, and died there, 1 A.D. Tacitus' words, *Ann.* i. 3, *mors fato propera vel novercae Liviae dolus abstulit*, show that there were suspicions of foul play in the case of Gaius. **adoptatur ab Augusto,** *etc.*: *cf. Aug.* 65, *tertium nepotem Agrippam simulque privignum Tiberium adoptavit in foro lege curiata.*

14. coactus prius, *etc.*: Dio, lv. 13, states that Augustus, as a check upon the ambition of Tiberius, compelled him to adopt Germanicus, since he feared that the former might grow overbearing and plot treason.

18. aliter quam ut peculio . . . accepta : *otherwise than as his peculium*, lit. 'otherwise than to place them to the credit of his *peculium*,' *i.e.* not to receive them as property to be held independently by him, but with the permission of Augustus; for *peculium* means the property which a father allows his children, or a master his slaves, to have as their own, but which technically remains a part of the father's or owner's property. The idiom, *referre acceptum*, is a common commercial term, meaning to enter on the books as received. In the clause *aliter quam ut referret*, *referret* is an example of Bennett's stipulative subjunctive; see note on p. 10. 8; the stipulation in this case, however, is simply a principle of conduct laid down by Tiberius for himself.

21. Agrippa . . . seposito : Suetonius, *Aug.* 65, attributes this action of Augustus to the low character and bad disposition of Agrippa Postumus. He was sent first to Surrentum and afterward transported to Planasia.

23. delegatus pacandae Germaniae: the task of subduing Germany was assigned to him. **status**: the use of *status* is somewhat peculiar; lit. 'the condition' or 'state' of subduing Germany. On Tiberius' operations there, *cf.* Vell. ii. 105 *seq.*, and Dio, lv. 28.

25. in provincia : *i.e.* in Germany, *provincia* being used to signify Germanicus' sphere of activity as a general. The provinces of Germany had not yet been formed. **sed nuntiata Illyrici defectione**: 6 A.D. Vell. ii. 110 *seq.*, and Dio, lv. 29, give detailed accounts of the uprising. Velleius remarks: 'The whole of Pannonia waxing insubordinate, as the result of uninterrupted peace, and Dalmatia, now in the full maturity of her strength, drew into a confederacy all the nations of that region, and took up arms.' The real reason of the revolt was the harshness of the Roman rule in that district.

30. quamquam saepius revocaretur : see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

32. ultro: if taken with *instaret*, the meaning is, 'would presume to harass them'; if with *cedentibus*, 'should they voluntarily retreat.' The latter seems preferable.

Page 12. **1. toto Illyrico . . . perdomito**: peace had been made with the Pannonians in 8 A.D. They afterward rebelled and were subdued as narrated in the text.

6. sub id fere tempus: *viz.* 9 A.D. Velleius, ii. 117, states that within five days after the termination of the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia, the terrible news came that Varus had been killed in Germany, and that three legions, as many squadrons of cavalry, and six

cohorts had been cut to pieces. The disaster occurred in the Teutoberg forest. The Germans were led by their patriot and hero, Hermann. The entire story of this defeat — which was a terrible blow to the Romans, both in loss of prestige and of men, for it was found difficult to recruit the legions at this period — is told by Dio, lvi. 18–24. Suetonius, *Aug.* 23, gives a vivid account of the effect the news had upon Augustus: "On receiving the news of this disaster, he ordered a strict watch kept throughout the city to prevent any public demonstration, and continued in office the praefects of the provinces that the allies might be controlled by persons of experience with whom they were familiar. . . . In short, we are told that he was thrown into such consternation by the event that he let his hair and beard grow for several months, and sometimes struck his head against the doorposts with the cry, 'O Quintilius Varus! Give me back my legions!'"

7. nemine: see note on p. 9. 14.

14. triumphum ipse distulit: according to Velleius, ii. 121, because he was still occupied with wars.

15. clade Variana: see above on line 6.

17. in Saeptis: the Saepta Julia. The *saepta* or *ovilia* were originally temporary wooden enclosures in the Campus Martius, into which the people passed to vote. Julius Caesar formed the plan of constructing marble *saepta*, the whole to be surrounded by a portico nearly a mile in circumference. Agrippa completed and dedicated this work, which was known as the *Saepta Iulia*, or *Agrippiana*.

20. proximo anno: *viz.* 10 A.D. **repetita Germania**: *cf.* Vell. ii. 121, 'On receiving the news, Caesar hurried home to his father; and ever the patron of Roman dominion, he undertook as usual to plead her cause. He was sent to Germany.'

22. nihil non . . . egit: *he took no action without the advice of a council.*

23. semper alias sui arbitrii: *on all other occasions deciding for himself.* **arbitrii**: genitive of quality; see Introd. II. § 2, *d*.

26. solito: neuter of adjective used as a substantive; 'than he usually displayed.' **exactiorem**: see Introd. II. § 4, *a* (2). **traiecturus**: see Introd. II. § 4, *a* (1).

Page 13. **1. si . . . esset**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3). **per libellos**: *i.e.* in writing, to guard against mistakes.

4. disciplinam acerrime exegit: Velleius' statement, ii. 114, shows that Tiberius was able to discriminate in his punishments. "He forgave those who did not follow the strict rules of discipline, in

so far as no injury was done by their bad example. He gave warning frequently, and when he punished, it was to correct and not to avenge. He took a moderate course, passing much by unnoticed, and checking some abuses."

7. quamvis . . . permitteret: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

9. quotiens . . . decideret: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

11. ostento sibi, *etc.: trusting to an omen in which he had implicit confidence, because it had never failed his ancestors, when they were conducting campaigns. Sibi* is a dative with the adjective participle *expertissimo*, while *a maioribus* is ablative of agent with the same; lit. 'most perfectly tested for him by his ancestors.' This is a fine example of a participle used as an adjective and yet retaining a verbal force.

13. Bructero: the Bructeri, a tribe of northwestern Germany, are mentioned by Tacitus, *Ger.* 33. They were inveterate foes of Rome, and took part in the defeat of Varus.

16. quem distulerat: see p. 12. 14 and note.

20. Batonem: he surrendered to Tiberius after a severe war. The adjective *Pannonius* is used to distinguish this man from Bato, chief of the Bruci.

21. Ravennam: the port of Ravenna, three miles from the city, which like modern Venice was built amid tidal lagunes, was one of the two chief naval stations of the empire, the other being Misenum. We have the testimony of Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 58 and ii. 63, for the fact that Ravenna was the place of exile of the young son of Arminius (Hermann) and of Maroboduus. Such persons were probably placed under the charge of officers of the fleet. Honor was shown the surrendered Bato, but he was withal a prisoner.

24. congiarium: originally a gift of oil or wine of the measure of a *congius*, distributed to the people. Afterward, as here, a largess in money.

25. trecenos nummos: about fifteen dollars for each person. **nummos**: lit. 'coins'; is here, as often, equivalent to *sestertios*. **dedicavit et Concordiae**, *etc.*: according to Dio, lvi. 25, the date was 11 A.D.

26. Pollucis et Castoris: this had been dedicated in the year 6 A.D. by Tiberius. From the words of the text, it would appear to have been afterward adorned with the spoils of war. The temple had been built in 484 B.C. in memory of the assistance given the Romans by Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, 498 B.C. (traditional chronology). The second restoration was that of Tiberius in

6 A.D. There was probably another restoration by Hadrian. The three beautiful columns which stand out so conspicuously in the Roman Forum formed part of this temple as restored by Tiberius.

29. censum ageret: 14 A.D., the third census taken by Augustus. *Cf. Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 8, *tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tib. Caesare filio feci Sex. Pompeio et Sex. Appuleio conss.*; also *Aug.* 27. The right to supervise the morals and laws of the state was given him for life, in virtue of which he thrice took the census, though without the title of censor; the first and third times in connection with a colleague, but the second by himself.

32. fuitque una, *etc.*: Suetonius, *Aug.* 98, says that this long conference with Tiberius was the last matter of importance to which Augustus gave his attention before his death.

Page 14. **1. quasi . . . excepta sit**: Introd. II. § 6, *c*.

3. tam lentis maxillis: *jaws that crunch so slowly*; and hence protract the agony.

9. adoptionem: Vell. ii. 103, says that Augustus had wanted to do this after the death of Lucius, and while Gaius was still alive, but had been diverted from so doing by the vigorous opposition of Tiberius. **vel etiam ambitione tractum**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 10, mentions, among other indictments brought against the character of Augustus, that he had selected Tiberius as his successor, not influenced by affection or regard for the welfare of the state, but to enhance his own glory, which would be thrown into relief by the infamy and cruelty of Tiberius.

10. desiderabilior: a very rare comparative form.

11. adduci . . . quin, *etc.*: a peculiar form of expression, but one readily accounted for. *Adduci nequeo* conveys a slight suggestion of hindrance, which is carried out in the construction, *quin existimem*. The normal construction would be either *nequeo adduci ut*, *etc.*, or *nequeo impediri quin*, *etc.*

17. prosequatur: *bestows upon him the epithets, etc.*

18. hinc inde: *on both points*: equivalent to *hinc et inde*, and referring back to the expressions *peritissimum* and *unicum praesidium*.

19. A part of the Greek in this line is unintelligible in the Memm. manuscript. Med. 1, 2, and 3 give μούσαις τε after ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς, the reading followed in the text. Render, 'warring for me and the Muses.'

20. ita sim felix, *etc.*: the normal expression would be *ita sim felix ut vir fortissimus es*, 'as I hope for grace, so you are,' but the thought of the last clause is concisely expressed by the vocative.

21. νομιμώτατε: *most strict. Legitime* is the Latin explanation given on two manuscripts, and is the literal interpretation.

22. ordinem, *etc.*: accusative of exclamation. 'The arrangement of your summer campaigns!'

23. καὶ τοσαύτην, *etc.*: *such apathy on the part of the army.*

28. unus homo, *etc.*: a line modelled on one of Ennius, referring to Fabius, surnamed Cunctator. The original has *cunctando* instead of *vigilando.*

30. medius fidius: adverb of asseveration, 'on my word of honor.' Perhaps originally the full expression was *me Dius Fidius iuvet. Dius Fidius*, originally identified with Jupiter as god of faith, was afterward regarded by the Romans as a separate deity, and identified with the Sabine *Semo Sancus.*

Page 15. **1. τούτου γ' ἑσπομένοιο**, *etc.*: *Il.* x. 246, 'Should he follow, we may both return, e'en from blazing fire, for great is his wisdom,' words applied to Ulysses by Diomede.

6. imperi: this, the earlier form of the genitive, was probably used by Augustus. It was, however, in his reign that the genitive in *-ii* from nouns in *ius* and *ium* supplanted the form in *-i.*

10. perosi sunt: not the perfect tense, but the adjective use of the participle, which here has its active meaning, 'full of hatred toward.'

12. iuvene interempto: see Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1). Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 6, states that Tiberius did not mention the execution in the senate, pretending that Augustus had ordered the centurion of the guard to despatch Agrippa as soon as he himself should pass away. Dio, lvii. 3, mentions three rumors with regard to Agrippa's death: that his execution was ordered by Augustus on his death-bed; that the captain of the guard took matters into his own hands, knowing that Agrippa was plotting; that Livia, without orders from Tiberius, had him put to death.

13. ut id faceret iubebatur: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (2); the construction is occasionally found, however, at all periods of the language.

15. quo: see Introd. II. § 6, *e.*

16. tumultus post se: see Introd. II. § 5 (2).

21. mox: equivalent to *deinde.* This meaning, rather than 'soon,' is the prevailing force of the word in post-Augustan Latin. **iure autem tribuniciae potestatis**: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 7, "Not even the edict calling together the senate did he issue on his own authority, but in virtue of the tribunician power received from Augustus." On the significance of the tribunician power, see note on p. 7. 12.

25. inlatum deinde Augusti testamentum: Suetonius, *Aug.* 101, gives an extended account of this will. Tiberius and Livia are made heirs. Legacies to his relatives and friends, to the Roman people, legions, praetorian soldiers and cohorts, are enumerated. The will also states that many of the legacies left to Augustus had been expended by him in the interests of the state. It is forbidden that the two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, be buried in his tomb. *Cf.* Dio, lvi. 32; Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 8, "At the first session of the senate, he allowed nothing to be discussed but the funeral ceremonies of Augustus. The will was brought in by the Vestals, and it was found that Tiberius and Livia were appointed his heirs."

26. signatoribus . . . agnoscentibus: it was customary for the witnesses both to sign and place their seals upon a will. The seal and signature were placed upon the outside of the document.

30. ex parte dimidia et sextante: $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{2}{12} = \frac{2}{3}$; *heres ex besse* might have been used to express 'heir to two-thirds of the estate.' Since the Romans used a duodecimal system in expressing their fractions, the *as* being the unit, the shares into which an inheritance was divided was expressed in twelfths; *e.g. heres ex asse*, 'heir to the whole'; *ex semisse*, 'to one-half'; *ex triente*, 'to one-third,' *etc.*

Page 16. **3. principatum**: *the empire;* lit. 'the principate,' the word used to signify the rule of the *princeps*, which last title best expresses the position of the emperor, as head of the government and the people. The words *imperium* and *imperator* always retain something of their technical military meaning, as in the passage from Tacitus cited next. **quamvis . . . dubitasset**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5). *Cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 7, who states that on Augustus' death, Tiberius, as their imperator, gave the watchword to the praetorians; that armed guards surrounded the palace and accompanied him into the Forum and Curia; and that there were all other indications of an imperial court. In fact, that he showed hesitation in nothing, except when addressing the senate. Velleius' view, ii. 124, is different. He represents that there was a veritable contest between Tiberius and the state, the latter endeavoring to prevail upon him to become its prince, and he struggling to remain in a private station.

4. statione militum: this refers to the *excubiae*, or detail of praetorians, on guard at the palace. Roth's text reads *et statione militum.* Madvig seems correct in considering the *et* of the manuscripts a repetition of the last syllable of the preceding verb.

6. impudentissimo mimo: *with the most barefaced hypocrisy.*

10. ut quidam patientiam rumperent: *so that some lost patience.* *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 1. 3, "Q. Haterius and Mamercus Scaurus had given offence to Caesar, ever suspicious; Haterius, by remarking, 'How long, Caesar, are you going to leave the state without a head?' Scaurus, by saying that there was some hope that the senate's wishes would be complied with, in view of the fact that Tiberius had not vetoed the bill of the consuls, which he might have done, in virtue of his tribunician power."

13. praestare: *perform.* **quod praestat tarde polliceri**: *was slow to promise to perform what he was already performing.*

15. nec tamen aliter, *etc.*: Dio, lvii. 3, says that there was a story that Tiberius pretended to agitate the policy of giving up his power, in order to keep his enemies quiet, until his own power was firmly established.

21. lupum auribus tenere: Terence puts this proverb into the mouth of Phormio, one of his characters; *Phorm.* 506.

22. Agrippae: *sc. Postumo.* **Clemens nomine,** *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 39 (16 A.D.), mentions this attempt; Dio also, lvii. 16.

24. L. Scribonius Libo: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 27, calls him *Libo Drusus*, which was his correct name. Suetonius confuses him with L. Scribonius Libo, the consul of the year.

25. duplex seditio: the revolt of the legions of Pannonia and Germany in 14 A.D., a detailed account of which is given by Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 16–30 and 31–50; *cf.* Dio, lvii. 4.

27. extra ordinem: see Introd. II. § 5 (2). **ut aequarentur,** *etc.*: the pay of the praetorians was double that of the ordinary soldier.

32. timens: *i.e.* Tiberius.

Page 17. **1. quando universae sufficere,** *etc.*: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 11. Dio, lvii. 2, says that he selected assistants and was desirous of dividing the government into three parts, retaining one himself. The first division embraced Rome and Italy; the second embraced the armies; the third, the subject peoples.

7. in novitate: *i.e.* before his power was firmly established.

10. secespita: a long sacrificial knife of iron.

14. civilem admodum egit: *he played a very unassuming rôle.* *Civilis* is applied to one who demeans himself as an ordinary citizen; hence, 'courteous,' 'affable,' 'unassuming.' On the idiom *civilem agere, etc.*, see note on p. 9. 11.

17. plebeis incurrentem circensibus: *which happened to come at the same time as the Plebeian Games of the Circus.* These games

were given by the plebeian aediles November 4th to 17th. Tiberius' birthday was November 16; see note on p. 4. 21.

18. adiectione: *i.e.* in addition to those that would ordinarily run at these games.

19. flamines: *flamen* was the name applied to any Roman priest who was devoted to the service of one particular deity. The most important was the *flamen Dialis*, or priest of Jove. After the deification of the emperors, flamens were appointed to offer sacrifices to them. The name was probably derived from *flare*, 'to blow up,' *i.e.* a fire.

20. nisi permittente se: see Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

21. ne . . . poneretur: *that they should not be placed, etc.;* an example of the stipulative subjunctive. See note on p. 10. 8.

22. inter ornamenta: the *ornamenta* of a temple consisted of those objects which were consecrated to the temple by the faithful and gradually accumulated in it. Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 11. 6, enumerates them thus: *ornamenta vero sunt clipei, coronae, et huiusmodi donaria.*

23. in acta sua iuraretur: this oath to support the civil acts of the emperor — not to be confused with the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum; in verba iurare*) — is well explained by Dio, lvii. 8: "The custom which has always been observed on the first of January in the case of Augustus, and all the following emperors, whose conduct has been approved, of having all citizens take an oath to support what these emperors had done, and were to do hereafter, Tiberius did not allow in his own case, though he had himself taken such an oath in favor of Augustus and had administered it to others." *Cf.* Tacitus i. 72, who says that Tiberius did not allow any one to swear *in acta sua*, for the higher one arose, he asserted, the more insecure became his position.

24. September Tiberius, *etc.*: according to Dio, lvii. 18, Tiberius asked the subservient senators what they would do, should there be thirteen Caesars.

25. cognomenque patris patriae: the title had been granted to Julius Caesar and Augustus. Tiberius persistently refused it in the early part of his reign, as did Nero, Vespasian, and Hadrian. Afterward it became a regular part of the imperial title.

26. civicam in vestibulo coronam: the civic crown was of oak leaves, and was granted for saving the life of a citizen. Augustus had received this mark of honor, not for any individual case, but as the perpetual preserver of the citizens. Note the position of the phrase *in vestibulo*, and see Introd. II. § 5 (2). In the palaces of the nobles,

the *vestibulum* was an open court before the structure, formed by the two wings running out beyond the façade. The *vestibulum* was frequently adorned with statues, arms, and trophies. In the *Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 34, Augustus states that the *corona civica* was placed above his door.

29. **nec amplius quam mox tres**: *no more than three afterward; i.e.* three after becoming emperor. He had held two previously. For the force of *mox*, see note on p. 15. 21. **unum paucis diebus**: with Germanicus, 16 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 53.

30. **alterum tribus mensibus**: his fourth consulship, 21 A.D., his colleague being Drusus; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 31. Under the empire the term of office of the consul was shortened. This diminished the power of the office, and yet allowed the emperor to bestow it as a mark of favor upon more individuals than was possible under the old system. Until Nero's death the term was usually six months. After that time, two or four months ordinarily. The names of the first pair of consuls for a given year (*consules ordinarii*) were used to indicate the year. The consuls following in the same year were known as *consules suffecti*. **tertium absens**: *viz.* when in retirement at Capreae. His colleague was Sejanus. **usque in Idus Maias**: *viz.* from January 1st until May 15th. On the preposition *in*, see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

Page 18. 2. **consularem**: this was Q. Haterius. On Tiberius' reason for being angry with him, see note on p. 16. 10. In the same passage, Tacitus relates that Haterius came to the palace to appease Tiberius. He threw himself at Tiberius' feet as he was walking by. The emperor tripped in some way, in consequence of which Haterius barely escaped being killed by the guards.

4. **si quid . . . diceretur**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

5. **in continua oratione**: *in a set speech;* as contrasted with conversation (*sermo*).

6. **continuo**: *forthwith.*

7. **dominus**: from the first there was a tendency to call the emperor *dominus*, a title that indicated the respect felt by an inferior for a superior. It hardly became a regular form of address until the time of Septimius Severus. On the various uses of the term consult Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence with Trajan*, p. 78.

8. **contumeliae causa**: *i.e.* Tiberius' reproof implied that the man had intended to insult him by addressing him as *dominus*.

9. **auctore**: implying that the man was there at the instigation of Tiberius, rather than that he had advised (*suasor*) him to come.

11. adversus convicia, *etc.*: so Dio, lvii. 9, who says that Tiberius overlooked insolent conduct toward himself, but was jealous in maintaining the respect due to the memory of Augustus. Ultimately, he continues, Tiberius put many to death.

13. firmus: *unmoved.*

18. fenestram: we say 'door' in this connection.

21. locutus aliter fuerit: *if he shall speak ill of me. Loqui aliter* is probably equivalent to *loqui secus*, though the phrase does not occur elsewhere with this force. It is not known to whom Tiberius is referring. **ut rationem reddam**: as we may say, 'to give a good account.'

26. humanitatis: *courtesy.*

Page 19. **5. neque tam parvum,** *etc.*: *cf.* note on p. 16. 3.

7. de quo non . . . referretur: *concerning which report was not made. Referretur* is here used impersonally.

8. monopoliis: these monopolies were a fruitful source of complaint on the part of the provincials. Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 135, in speaking of the skin and quills of the porcupine, used in carding wool, remarks: "From the monopoly of this article, great frauds and great profits have resulted; there is no subject on which the senate has more frequently passed decrees, and there is not one of the emperors who has not received from the provinces complaints respecting it."

10. descriptione: *distribution.*

15. lectica quondam introlatus aeger: Dio, lvii. 17, remarks that it was usual for senators who on account of ill health could not go in the usual way, to be conveyed to the senate in litters.

17. ne questus quidem est: for an example of this moderation, see Dio, lvii. 27, where he tells of Tiberius' conduct toward those who disagreed with him. **negante eo destinatos,** *etc.*: *notwithstanding his saying that magistrates when chosen ought not to be absent, but remain in the city and devote their attention to the office they had received, a praetor elect asked for and received permission to travel with rank of ambassador.* The verb *acquiescere* with the dative seems, in several passages of Suetonius, to have the force of the expressions *vacare* or *operam dare; cf. Vitell.* 14, *vaticinante Catta muliere, cui velut oraculo acquiescebat.* This meaning is not recognized in the dictionaries (found, however, in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*), and the usual interpretation is, 'to be content with.' This is the meaning of the verb when it is used with the ablative case, with or without the preposition *in; cf.* note on p. 30. 18.

19. liberam legationem: the right of travelling as ambassador, with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto, though upon one's own private business.

20. Trebianis: inhabitants of *Trebia* (modern *Trevi*), a town of Umbria.

21. munitionem viae: a paved road was called *via munita*, and the technical expression for building it was *viam munire*. Inasmuch as roads were built by the Romans with great care, to make them lasting works, and were usually graded, paved, and curbed with well-supported stone-work, the appropriateness of the expression is manifest.

23. per discessionem: *by division*, *i.e.* those favoring the measure went to one side of the house, and the opponents went to the other (*in omnia alia discedere*).

28. trahi se a Caesare: *were being kept from Caesar.*

30. assurgere et decedere via: *cf.* Dio, lvii. 11: "He at all times showed the magistrates as much respect as if he were living under a republican form of government. He always rose in the presence of the consuls, and when he invited them to an entertainment, he met them at the door, and accompanied them to it when they departed."

Page 20. **2. omnium tribuendorum**: *sc. donorum*, and note the contrast between *quibusdam* and *omnium*.

4. de maioribus suis . . . memorandi: *cf.* Cic. *de Lege Agraria*, ii. 1. 1, who states that it was usual for the successful aspirant to a curule office to devote his first speech to the praise of his constituents and of his own ancestors who had held curule offices.

7. parem moderationem: for a statement of the moderation of Tiberius before the year 23 A.D., see Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 6. Dio, lvii. 7–13, also gives a sketch of the best years of Tiberius' reign. He marks the first change for the worse after the death of Germanicus, and a further decline after Tiberius' retirement to Capreae.

9. sine subscriptione: according to Dio, lvii. 11, this subscription was a formula consisting of prayers addressed to the emperor.

12. sabbatis: *every Saturday.* This word *sabbata* was borrowed from the Hebrews. It really means 'time of rest.'

13. servolum: note the diminutive, 'an ordinary slave.' To send an ordinary household slave would be a mark of disrespect.

16. praesidibus: the full expression is *praesides provinciarum*, a general term applied to all provincial governors. It is more frequently used, however, to designate governors of imperial provinces, whose

official title was *legati pro praetore*, as in the present case. Eventually the word *praeses* came to denote an inferior class of officers.

17. rescripsit: *i.e.* in his letters of instruction (*rescripta*) to provincial governors.

18. boni pastoris, *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 6: "He saw to it that the provinces should not be distressed by the imposition of new burdens, and that the taxes already imposed should be collected without cruelty or avarice on the part of the magistrates." Dio, lvii. 10, says that it was to Rectus Aemilius, when the latter sent a larger sum than usual from Egypt, that Tiberius wrote back, using the proverb about shearing his sheep.

19. principem exseruit: *revealed himself as prince;* lit. 'thrust out the prince.'

24. pro tribunali: on the force of *pro*, see note on p. 5. 13. **plerumque se offerebat**: Tac. *Ann.* i. 75, states that Tiberius, not satisfied with the part he took in the legal investigations of the senate, often sat on the bench with the praetor in the regular courts. The historian remarks that, though the emperor did this in the interests of justice, the practice was detrimental to liberty; *cf.* Dio, lvii. 7: "He constructed a tribunal in the Forum, where he presided and decided points of law, always having a body of advisers at hand, following an example set by Augustus."

25. assidebatque iuxtim vel exadversum in parte primori: these words imply that there were two tribunals. Tiberius sat either next the praetor, or on the corresponding platform at the other end of the basilica.

28. religionis: *oath.*

32. mercedibus scaenicorum recisis: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 77 (15 A.D.), also shows that measures were taken to restrict the amount paid to actors. **paribus gladiatorum**: *pairs of gladiators*, *i.e.* the number of matches at each exhibition was restricted.

Page 21. **2. mullos**: a small fish weighing ordinarily about two pounds. Epicures paid large sums for those of unusual size. Even a three-pound mullet was considered large; *cf.* Hor. *Ser.* ii. 2. 32.

3. nummum: genitive plural, see note on p. 13. 25. **venisse**: from *veneo.*

6. popinas ganeasque: *low restaurants and eating-houses.*

7. ut ne . . . sinerent: *i.e.* the law did not allow these places, which were often low dives in the guise of restaurants, to make a display of their wares to attract patrons. **opera pistoria**: *pastry.*

Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 52, in speaking of the extravagance of the time, uses the word *ganeae* in the sense of 'gluttony,' showing that these places had become notorious.

8. parsimoniam: *frugality.* The word is regularly used in a good sense.

9. sollemnibus: *formal.*

11. omnia eadem habere, *etc.: that the parts tasted as good as the whole.*

12. cotidiana oscula: like the French and Italians of to-day, the Roman men used to embrace and kiss on meeting. Pliny, *N. H.* xxvi. 3, states that a loathsome disease of the face spread among the nobles in the reign of Tiberius, and that the scourge was due to this practice. **strenarum**: *strena*, a sign or omen, came to have the meaning, 'new year's gift,' given for the sake of the omen; *cf.* French *étrenne*. Dio, lvii. 8, states that the reason for Tiberius' absence from the city on the first of January was that he wished men to be undisturbed by his presence at that season, and not to feel obliged to bestow gifts upon him. Note the cynical turn given the thought by the use of the word *commercium*, as though this practice were nothing but one of giving for value received.

13. quadruplam: *i.e.* of fourfold the value of the gift given him.

14. offensus interpellari: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1).

15. potestatem sui: *i.e.* the opportunity of meeting him and exchanging gifts.

16. ultra non tulit: *did not endure it further;* that is, the interruptions.

19. iuris iurandi gratiam fecit, uxorem, *etc.: excused from his oath and allowed to dismiss.* For construction of *dimitteret*, *cf.* Introd. II. § 3, *b* (6).

22. ut . . . exsolverentur: *that they might be released from their obligations and status of matrons, and thus escape the penalty of the laws.* The laws on marriage and the relations of the sexes consisted of a series of enactments. These were amplified in the reign of Augustus during the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppaeus Secundus, 9 B.C., and hence the new enactment was called called *lex Papia Poppaea.* A woman convicted of adultery might lose one-half her dowry, one-third of her property, and be banished. According to Tacitus, ii. 85, if a woman made an open profession of prostitution before the aediles (*licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat*) she was freed from the danger of suffering the penalties imposed by law. This is what Suetonius means.

24. utriusque ordinis: *viz.* of senatorial and equestrian rank.

25. quo minus in opera scaenae, *etc.: that they might not be prevented by the decree of the senate from appearing in the arena and on the stage.* Such a decree was passed in the reign of Augustus, 22 B.C. The most definite reference to it is found in Dio, liv. 2.

27. famosi iudicii notam: *i.e.* they allowed themselves to be deprived by the censors, or by the emperor as *praefectus morum*, of their senatorial or equestrian rank.

29. latum clavum: the broad purple stripe of the senator, on the breast of his *tunica; cf.* the *angustus clavus* of the equestrians.

30. Kal. Iul.: the Roman moving day; *cf.* Mart. *Epig.* xii. 32. After that date rents would not be held so high.

32. pridie sortitionem: *on the day before he cast lots.* Probably on the day before he drew his province by lot. Why he divorced her is a matter of conjecture.

Page 22. **1. Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit**: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 85 (19 A.D.), is not much more explicit. He states, however, that four thousand freedmen were expelled to Sardinia, charged with being disciples of these cults. From Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 3, 4, we learn the circumstances. The temple of Isis was destroyed and its priests were crucified by Tiberius, because of an outrage perpetrated by a Roman knight upon a woman of rank in this temple, with the assistance of the priests. The Jews were punished because four of that sect had persuaded one of their proselytes, a noble Roman lady, to send as gifts to the temple of Jerusalem sums which they had stolen. In general, it may be said that the Romans were very tolerant toward foreign cults. They were aggressively hostile only toward those creeds which, like the Christian and Jewish, were of a proselyting tendency and hostile to the state religion, or toward those which, like Druidism, fostered national sentiments detrimental to Roman dominion.

5. sacramenti: *i.e.* under pretence of enlisting them for military service.

6. caeli: *climate.* **similia sectantes**: *i.e.* proselytes.

11. a grassaturis, *etc.: from prowling robbers and lawless conspirators.* See Introd. II. § 1, *d.* **grassaturis ac latrociniis**: a case of hendiadys.

15. quibus praetorianae cohortes, *etc.:* both Dio, lvii. 19, and Tacitus attribute this innovation to Sejanus. Suetonius, *Aug.* 49

states that in Augustus' time most of the praetorians were kept in the neighboring towns, and but three cohorts quartered in the city. The site of this stationary camp of Sejanus, which, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* iv. 2), he established in the interest of discipline and efficiency, was outside the Servian wall and northeast of the city. The place is clearly marked by a square projection of the present walls.

16. per hospitia : *i.e.* they had been billeted in scattered groups throughout the city. **continerentur** : subjunctive in relative clause of purpose.

19. capita factionum et histriones : Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 14 (23 A.D.), represents the punishment as falling upon the whole body of actors. *Factionum* refers to the supporters and partisans of the different actors, who are elsewhere called *fautores histrionum.* How zealous they were, may be inferred from the statement of Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 77, with regard to a decree passed forbidding senators to pay court to actors. *Relegatio* sent the person so punished from Rome to dwell in a specified place. This was less severe than *deportatio*, which was accompanied by personal restraint, loss of citizenship, and confiscation of property.

21. Pollentina plebs : the populace of *Pollentia*, a city of Picenum.

22. funus : *i.e.* the cortège. **primipilaris** : of the rank of *primipilus*, or centurion who originally commanded the right wing of the first maniple of triarii.

24. a Cotti regno : the kingdom of Cottius embraced the tract now known as the canton of Biançonnais. The adjacent mountains were named the Cottian Alps in honor of the sovereign. His kingdom became a Roman province in the time of Nero. *Cf.* Strabo, iv. 1. 3.

27. decurionum : the members of the senate (*ordo*) of municipalities and colonies were called *decuriones.*

28. asylorum : *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 60 (22 A.D.), who states that the right of asylum was being greatly abused in the Greek cities, and the temples thronged with crowds of worthless slaves. Debtors, too, and even those charged with capital crimes, took advantage of this custom to effect their escape.

29. Cyzicenis . . . ademit : this was in the year 25 A.D. Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 36, besides the cause mentioned here, states that they had neglected to perform certain ceremonies in honor of Augustus.

Page 23. 4. **extractos ad se**: *induced to visit him.*

5. **Maroboduum**: he was brought up at Rome. After becoming leader of the Marcomanni, he established a powerful kingdom. He spent the last eighteen years of his life in exile at Ravenna, dying in 35 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 62–63; Vell. ii. 108. **Rhascupolim**: Augustus had divided Thrace between Rhascupolis and his nephew, Cotys. The latter was killed by his uncle in the early part of the reign of Tiberius. Rhascupolis was finally banished to Alexandria and put to death, 18 A.D. His history is given quite fully by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 64–67. **Archelaum**: the king to whom Cappadocia was given by Mark Antony, 36 B.C.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42.

10. **Antio**: *Antium*, modern Anzio, a town of Latium, twenty-eight miles from Rome. The place was noted for its temple of Fortune. The prophecies were delivered by two Fortunae, called by Martial, v. 1. 3, *veridicae sorores*, and by Suetonius, *Fortunae Antiatinae.* See *Calig.* chap. 57. 6.

14. **profectionem praepararet**: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 47 (14 A.D.), states that after making elaborate preparations, he put off his journey on various pretexts, and imposed upon the provinces for a long time.

17. **Callippides**: proverbial for a 'slow-coach.' *Cf.* Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 12. 3, *biennium praeteriit cum ille* Καλλιππίδης *assiduo cursu cubitum nullum processerit.*

20. **Germanicus**: on his adoption by Tiberius, see above on 11. 14. In 16 A.D. Tiberius, influenced by jealousy, according to Tacitus, recalled Germanicus from his victorious career in Germany, and placed him in complete control of the East. Some thought that secret instructions had been given Piso, governor of Syria, to thwart and embarrass Germanicus. It was also rumored that Plancia, Piso's wife, had been instigated by the Empress Livia to annoy Agrippina, wife of Germanicus. Germanicus' illness and death were attributed to sorcery and poison employed by Piso. Of this, however, there is no proof. For the whole story, *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 69 *seq.* **Drusus**: Tiberius' own son. He was poisoned, 23 A.D., by his eunuch Lygdus, incited to the deed by Sejanus; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 8; Dio, lvii. 22.

21. **secessum Campaniae petit**: Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 57, remarks that most authors attributed his retirement to the influence of Sejanus, but inasmuch as Tiberius continued in retirement for six years after the fall of Sejànus, he is inclined to attribute it to the emperor's morose and licentious character. Other causes suggested are, shame because of his disgusting personal appearance, and the arrogant conduct of his mother.

22. constanti et opinione: Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 58, relates that the astrologers asserted that Tiberius left Rome under such a conjunction of the planets that return was impossible. Many, jumping at the conclusion that he was soon to die, spread such a report and paid the penalty with their lives.

23. quasi . . . rediturus: a rather interesting case of the use of *quasi* and a participle, instead of a finite verb in a substantive clause, as explained in Introd. II. § 6, *c*.

24. quod paulo minus utrumque evenit: *both of which lacked but little of coming true. Paulo* is ablative of degree of difference.

26. Tarracinam: a town of Latium formerly called *Anxur*. Some distance from this is the modern village of Sperlonga (*Spelunca*), where a cave showing traces of ancient decoration may still be seen. **praetorio**: *a magnificent country villa.* A post-Augustan meaning. Originally it meant the headquarters, or dwelling, of the general (*praetor*).

27. complura et ingentia saxa, *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 59, Sejanus protected the emperor from the falling débris by interposing his own body, and was found in this posture by the soldiers who came to the rescue.

30. Capitolium: this was a temple of Jove placed on the Capitol at Capua, and corresponding to the Capitolium at Rome. **Nolae**: the place of Augustus' death.

31. causam . . . praetenderat: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57 (26 A.D.), *abscessit, specie dedicandi templa apud Capuam Iovi, apud Nolam Augusto, sed certus procul urbe degere.*

32. Capreas: modern *Capri.* This beautiful little island, nine miles in circumference, lies south of the gulf of Puteoli. Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 67, speaks of its charms, and states that its climate was mild in winter because of the protection afforded by mountains, and cool in summer because exposed to the west winds, and that its outlook over the bay of Campania was delightful.

Page 24. **3. revocante assidua obtestatione**: *persistently entreating and adjuring him to return.*

4. apud Fidenas: for force of *apud*, see Introd. II. § 5 (1). *Fidenae* (also in singular *Fidena*) was situated at the junction of the Anio and the Tiber, five miles from Rome. The amphitheatre fell because of poor construction; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 62.

11. decurias equitum: though a disputed point, it seems best to understand *decuria* here as a judicial term. Suetonius else-

where always says *decuriae iudicum.* On the latter, *cf.* note on p. 27. 26.

13. praesides ullos mutaverit: for the word *praesides*, see note on p. 20. 16; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 80, who says that it was Tiberius' custom to leave many officials in military and judicial positions for life.

14. sinė consularibus legatis: *Hispania Tarraconensis* and Syria were imperial provinces governed by *legati consulares*, whose official title, however, was *legati Augusti pro praetore.* The official title of all governors of senatorial provinces was *proconsules*, whether they were consulars or praetorians.

16. Gallias: *i.e.* transalpine Gaul. The word is in the plural because of the four divisions; see note on p. 6. 30.

17. neglexerit: *he disregarded the fact that.* Note that the infinitives *occupari* and *vastari* are in object clauses. **magno dedecore**, *etc.*: ablative of attendant circumstance.

18. ceterum secreti licentiam nanctus: *but having secured the freedom that privacy guarantees.*

21. tiro: the word is here used literally of a novice in military affairs. It is also figuratively applied to the young man who has just put on his *toga virilis*, his formal introduction into the Forum being called *tirocinium fori*, and the day of the ceremony *dies tirocinii; cf. Nero*, chap. 7. 19.

23. Biberius: as if from the verb *bibere*. **Caldius**: as if from *calda*, a kind of hot punch. **Mero**: as if from *merum*, 'unmixed wine.'

24. princeps in . . . correctione: though Claudius assumed the title of censor, 48 A.D., the emperors ordinarily undertook the regulation of public morals under the title *praefecti morum*, the office referred to here.

25. Pomponio Flacco: the man appointed by Tiberius to conduct the campaign against Rhascupolis. He is highly praised by Velleius. He died, 34 A.D., while serving as procurator in Syria. **L. Pisone**: probably the father of the two Pisos addressed by Horace in *Epist.* ii. 3 (*Ars Poetica*).

27. alteri Syriam: *viz.* Flaccus. **alteri praefecturam urbis**: *viz.* Piso. *Praefectura* refers to the office of the permanent imperial official known as *praefectus urbi*, the emperor's representative in the city.

28. codicillis: *i.e.* in the documents which conferred the offices.

29. omnium horarum amicos: *i.e.* they were friends for all occasions.

30. notato: *cf.* note on p. 3. 16.

32. cenam condixit: *he invited himself to dine* (with Sestius).

Page 25. **2. ignotissimum**: see Introd. II. § 4, *c*.

4. amphoram: an *amphora* contained about seven gallons. It seems probable, in view of the present passage, that the word was also used to signify a large drinking vessel. Render, *tankard*. **sestertia ducenta**: *200,000 sesterces;* about $10,000.

6. induxerat: *represented*, lit. 'brought on,' an expression borrowed from the stage. **officium instituit a voluptatibus**: *instituted an office of master of amusements; a voluptatibus* signifies the duty, lit. 'from the point of view of pleasure.' For further examples of this construction, see *Nero*, chap. 49. 28 and note.

8. tenax: this is contradicted by the statements of Tacitus and Velleius Paterculus. The former, *Ann.* i. 75, states that Tiberius was always ready to pay out money for honorable projects, a virtue he retained after losing all others; and again, iii. 18, he terms him, *satis firmus adversum pecuniam*. The latter, ii. 130, says that he assisted many with his own private means, especially at the time that the Caelian hill was ravaged by fire. Dio, lvii. 10, after enumerating acts of generosity, adds: "He never killed any one to secure his wealth, and did not, at least at that period, confiscate any one's goods, nor secure money by unlawful means."

10. una modo liberalitate . . . prosecutus: *i.e.* treating them generously on but one occasion.

12. sescenta sestertia: *600,000 sesterces;* about $30,000.

14. gratorum: *favorites;* but the reading is doubtful.

15. neque opera ulla magnifica: contradicted by Velleius ii. 130, but his words are indefinite: "How many edifices he constructed in his own name or in those of his kindred!" Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 45, says that he did complete these two works, but only these, and that he left them undedicated, either because of his advanced age, or because he scorned display. Dio, lvii. 10, states that his only new work was the temple of Augustus; and this is probably correct, as it was only the stage of Pompey's theatre that Tiberius reconstructed. It is believed that the temple of Augustus stood on the side of the Palatine facing the Capitol. Pompey's theatre was built in 55 B.C., and was the first permanent theatre at Rome.

19. rarissime interfuit: contradicted by Dio, lvii. 11, who says that Tiberius made it a special point to be present at the games and spectacles.

20. Actium manumittere: this is probably the case referred to by Dio, lvii. 11, where he states that Tiberius was so fair and just that when the people demanded the manumission of an actor, he would not permit it until the owner had signified his willingness and had received his price.

22. nisi senatui . . . probassent: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 75, attributes this conduct on the part of Tiberius to his love of severity, which he displayed even in meritorious actions. Velleius' explanation (ii. 129) is more favorable. He implies that the senate was asked to pass upon such cases in the interest of frugality and economy.

25. auctore Augusto, *etc.*: *i.e.* on the advice of Augustus, he married and raised a family.

27. proposito milies, *etc.*: *offering to loan for the space of three years the sum of 100,000,000 sesterces without interest; cf.* Dio, lviii. 21. Roth's text reads *sestertio*, a conjecture of Glareanus for *sestertium* of the manuscripts. In view of the fact that almost without exception the manuscripts of Suetonius read *sestertium* in passages where the numeral adverb is used, and where the sum expressed is in the genitive and ablative (passages in Roth always amended to *sestertii* and *sestertio*), it seems much safer to regard the numeral as an indeclinable substantive and *sestertium* as genitive plural. In the present passage *proposito milies* is ablative absolute. It must be acknowledged, however, that the forms *sestertio* and *sestertii* do occur in such constructions with manuscript authority, especially in Tacitus. The two constructions probably existed side by side. See *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. VII., p. 210 *seq.*

29. quibusdam dominis, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 64 (27 A.D.), tells how the people murmured and said that Tiberius had formed the plan to be absent, knowing it to be a year boding disaster. Their complaints were silenced by his generosity. On the occasion of a severe fire ten years later, Tiberius again came to the assistance of his people. This is passed over in silence by Suetonius. A corps of *vigiles* had been formed in the year 6 A.D., one of whose duties was to protect the city from these frequently recurring conflagrations. **insularum**: *insulae* was the name given to the compact blocks, the apartment houses of the Romans. The detached mansion with its grounds was called *domus*.

30. magna difficultate nummaria: this stringency of the year 33 A.D. was due to the fact that all debts were called in, as explained in note on p. 26. 3.

Page 26. **1. cum per senatus consultum**, *etc.*: *after having ordained by decree of the senate, that money-lenders invest two-thirds of their possessions in land.*

3. debitores totidem, *etc.*: the evident intention of the decree was, that the debtors might be enabled to pay two-thirds of their debts by making over land to the money-lenders, who were ordered to invest two-thirds of their money therein at a fair market price; but the scheme did not work (*nec res expediretur*), because the money-lenders, having eighteen months (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 16 and 17) in which to comply with the requirements of the decree, called in the whole amount due them, which it seems they were not prevented from doing by the terms of the decree. They then waited, before purchasing, until the land decreased in value, as it soon did, because of the amount thrown on the market by the hard-pressed debtors. **aeris alieni**: *debt,* — the ordinary Latin expression.

4. temporum atrocitatem: *the hard times.*

6. vocari Augustum iusserit: according to Tacitus, this was suggested by the senate, and not ordered by Tiberius. It does not appear that the suggestion was carried out.

7. militi post duplicata, *etc.*: from Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 36, we learn that this was a concession granted by the letters which Germanicus pretended he had received from Tiberius, but which he had himself composed, in order to quiet the uprising of the German legions. Dio, lvii. 5, distinctly says that Germanicus paid this without the knowledge of Tiberius, who afterward approved the act, and granted the same to the legions of Pannonia.

8. praeterquam: for *praeterquam quod* (*sc. largitus est*), a post-Augustan usage. **singula milia denariorum**: *1000 denarii apiece;* about $200.

9. Seiano: Aelius Sejanus, prefect of the praetorian guard. He was a son of Seius Strabo, a Roman knight, and was for eight years the favorite and prime minister of Tiberius, whom he persuaded to retire to Capreae, he himself remaining at Rome in full charge of the government. When consul in 31 A.D. he was detected in a plot to kill the emperor. He was deposed, and the senate ordered him to instant execution. For his character, *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 1, and for his death, see note on p. 30. 18.

12. missiones: after twenty years' service, the legionaries were entitled to an honorable discharge and a pension. The praetorians served sixteen years. Under Augustus the legionaries served sixteen years, and under Hadrian twenty-five years.

13. compendium captans: *i.e.* by their death he would be freed from the necessity of pensioning them. With regard, however, to Tiberius' generosity, see note on p. 25. 8.

14. disiectis terrae motu civitatibus: 17 A.D., when twelve populous cities of Asia were destroyed; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47. With reference to the Sardinians, whose loss was heaviest, Tacitus states that Tiberius promised them 10,000,000 sesterces, and a remission for five years of all their dues to the treasury and privy purse. For the word *civitas*, see note on p. 8. 12.

16. procedente mox tempore: a very clear illustration of the force of *mox* in post-Augustan Latin. See note on p. 15. 21.

17. Cn. Lentulum: consul, 14 B.C., with M. Licinius Crassus. He was a man of great wealth, but of contemptible spirit. He is always called Augur, to distinguish him from Cn. Lentulus, surnamed Gaetulicus.

19. angore: *anguish of spirit.* A much stronger word than *anxietas.* **et ut ne quo**, *etc.*: *and with the intent that he might die, leaving no other heir than himself.* Madvig would emend by striking out the *et* before *ut.*

21. Lepidam: daughter of Lucius Aemilius Lepidus and Cornelia, who was a granddaughter of Pompey the Great and Sulla the dictator. For a further account of the charges brought against her, *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 22 and 23. She ultimately committed suicide. *Ann.* vi. 40. **in gratiam Quirini**: *to please Quirinus.* This man was consul, 11 B.C.

24. Galliarum: see note on p. 24. 16. **Hispaniarum**: *i.e.* the provinces this side and beyond the Ebro from Rome.

27. quam quod partem, *etc.*: they must have been prosecuted because they kept more money hoarded than was allowed by the ordinance of Julius Caesar (*de modo credendi possidendique intra Italiam cavetur*, *Ann.* vi. 16). The amount lawful to keep was probably 60,000 sesterces; *cf.* Dio, xli. 38.

29. ius metallorum: *the right of mining.* Under the republic most of the mines and quarries were owned by private individuals. In the time of the empire, whether in senatorial or imperial provinces, they were worked for the emperor, and the income formed part of the revenue of the *fiscus* and private purse. The workmen were generally slaves or criminals, sometimes soldiers or free laborers. **Vononem**: this man, educated at Rome, had succeeded to the throne of Parthia. He was driven into Armenia and there accepted as king, but was afterward removed by the Romans into Syria; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1–4. From

Tacitus' account (*Ann.* ii. 68), it does not appear that Tiberius had anything to do with his death.

Page 27. 1. **in Druso**: for Tiberius' affection for his brother, see note on p. 6. 11.

2. **de cogendo ad restituendam**, *etc.*: *cf. Claud.* chap. 1. 11; Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 33: "The memory of Drusus was revered by the Roman people, for it was generally believed that it was his intention to restore their liberty to them, should he become emperor."

4. **Iuliae uxori**, *etc.*: on her banishment, see note on p. 8. 26. On his accession, Tiberius allowed her to die of neglect in her place of banishment; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 53.

5. **tantum afuit ut . . . impertiret**: *so far was he from displaying any kindness or natural affection, etc.* **quod minimum est**: this clause following *relegatae* signifies that her banishment was the least of her miseries.

8. **peculio**: for meaning, see note on p. 11. 18.

9. **annuis**: *annual stipend;* from *annua, orum.* **per speciem publici iuris**: *under pretence of a well-defined principle of law; ius publicum* or *ius publicum et tralaticium* (*cf. Aug.* 10) signifies a right that belongs to every one.

11. **gravatus**: *vexed at;* this construction of *gravor* with an object noun is poetical or post-Augustan.

16. **Liviae filius**: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 14, states that he was so angry at the suggestion of these titles that he would not even allow a lictor to be appointed to attend his mother.

21. **abstineret**: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (6).

22. **aedem Vestae**: this temple had been destroyed by fire, 241 B.C., was again burned in the great fire 64 A.D., and still again in the reign of Commodus. The present fragments belong to various periods, but the lowest substructure does not antedate the period of the empire. The last restoration was made by Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, in the third century A.D., and the temple stood in a perfect condition as late as 1489.

24. **ad simultatem usque**: *to actual enmity.*

26. **decurias**: each order of the jurors formed a *decuria;* thus there had been a *decuria* of senators, one of knights, and one of *tribuni aerarii.* Caesar omitted the *tribuni;* and Augustus excused the senators. The latter, taking in citizens of humbler rank, increased the number of *decuriae* to four, and Caligula (see note on p. 51. 2), after the importance of the office had passed away, introduced a fifth.

27. albo: dative. *Album* is the roll of any public body. *Album iudicum* is here meant.

29. intolerantia morum: *his insufferable character.*

30. sacrario: a shrine or chapel. She may have kept the mask and relics of Augustus in this shrine.

32. inter causas secessus: but *cf.* note on p. 7. 15.

Page 28. **3. horis**: Introd. II. § 2, *a* (1). **mox**: see note on p. 15. 21.

4. dum . . . facit: join this clause closely in thought with *mora*, which is itself an ablative of cause.

6. prohibuit consecrari: his directions were, *ne caelestis religio decerneretur; cf.* Tac. *Ann.* v. 1 and 2; Dio, lviii. 2. The funeral oration was pronounced by Gaius, her great-grandson. **quasi**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

7. testamentum: Livia's legacies were afterward paid by Caligula; *cf. Calig.* chap. 16. 4.

10. et in antliam: the *antlia* was a contrivance for raising water for purposes of irrigation; in form it was usually a chain pump or bucket wheel; if the latter, the condemned worked it as a tread-mill. On the force of *et*, see Introd. II. § 6, *d*.

13. alterius vitiis: Dio, lvii. 14: "Drusus was subject to such bursts of passion, that he flogged a Roman knight; so prone to intoxication, that one night, when forced to send assistance to people suffering from burns they had received in a conflagration, he ordered hot water poured upon them when they asked for water; such a devoted partisan, that he aroused tumults among the actors and did not enforce the laws that Tiberius had passed to remedy such disturbances."

15. perinde: *as much as might be expected*, lit. 'in like manner.'

16. tantum non statim: *all but immediately*, *i.e.* almost immediately. **a funere**: for the preposition, see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

17. iustitio: *mourning.* The original meaning is, 'cessation of court business' (*ius sistere*). As the usual reason for closing the courts was because of mourning, this is the prevailing meaning of the word in imperial Latin.

20. vicem eorum: *on their account.* For construction of *vicem*, consult Bennett, *Lat. Gram.* 185, 1; *Appendix*, 310, 3.

22. elevarit: *disparaged.*

23. ceu: equivalent to *tamquam.* The word is poetical; or, in prose, post-Augustan.

24. propter . . . famem: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 59, evidently gives

slight credence to the story of the famine. He says that Germanicus went to Egypt to view its antiquities, official duties being made the pretext; he continues, *levavitque apertis horreis pretia frugum multaque in vulgus grata usurpavit.*

26. causa mortis: see note on p. 23. 20.

27. quem mox huius, *etc.: and some believe that he, when charged with the crime, would have produced his orders, but for the fact, etc.* The following words, *ea secreto ostentant quae,* cannot be construed, as the text is corrupt and a lacuna probable. Seemingly the idea to be expressed is that the orders were secret and that he dared not divulge them, since if he did his own life would be in danger. The common reading is, *ea secreta obstarent per quae, etc.* Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 16, states that he had heard old men say that a document had been often seen in Piso's hands, which his friends asserted to be a letter from Tiberius, ordering Piso to oppose Germanicus; that the intention of Piso was to lay it before the senate in his own defence, but that he was beguiled by Sejanus' promises.

30. redde Germanicum: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 82, gives a vivid description of the feelings of the people on hearing of Germanicus' illness and danger.

Page 29. **2. si non dominaris, filiola,** *etc.:* Tacitus' version (*Ann.* iv. 52) is: *correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi quia non regnaret. Filiola* is a diminutive of affection, sarcastically employed.

6. vocare: *address.*

7. se . . . accersi: *that he was being arraigned.* The form *accerso* for *arcesso* is archaic. **cum praestructum,** *etc.:* Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 54, attributes this scheme to Sejanus.

10. ad statuam Augusti, *etc.:* according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 67, she was advised to do this by the hirelings of Tiberius, and although she rejected the advice, she was accused of having had such intentions.

11. Pandatariam: an island about twenty-five miles south of Latium, and west of Campania. The elder Julia had also been banished to this place.

13. mori inedia destinanti, *etc.:* Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 25, suggests, however, that she may have been forced to starve herself. Dio, lviii. 22, simply remarks that Tiberius was charged with cruelty in the matter of Agrippina's death.

16. imputavit: *took credit to himself.*

17. Gemonias: *sc. scalas*, *i.e.* 'stairs of lamentation.' This was a flight leading from the carcer to the Forum, and passing the *Tullianum*, or lower dungeon of the carcer. It was on these stairs, near the *Tullianum*, that the bodies of malefactors were exposed.

21. tres nepotes: *cf. Calig.* chap. 7. 11.

23. morte liberorum: *i.e.* of his own son Drusus, and his adopted son Germanicus.

24. patribus commendavit: this was in the year 20 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 29.

25. diem tirocinii: see note on p. 24. 21. **congiario**: see note on p. 13. 24.

27. pro eorum quoque salute, *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 17, this action was induced by adulation, not by affection for the youth. On the emperor's words, *non debere, etc.*, as given by Suetonius, the remark of Tacitus makes a good commentary; *quae (adulatio) moribus corruptis perinde anceps, si nulla et ubi nimia est.* **egit cum senatu**: *he discussed the matter with the senate, saying.*

29. interiore animi sui nota: *his real feelings in the matter. Nota* here means 'quality,' 'character'; strictly it is the stamp or label indicating the quality; *cf.* Hor. *Carm.* ii. 3. 8, *interiore nota Falerni.*

30. obnoxios reddidit: *exposed them.*

32. accusavit per litteras: on the testimony of Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 3, he had composed a letter directed against Agrippina and Nero, but had been prevented from publishing it by his mother during her life.

Page 30. **5. uncos**: the hooks with which the bodies of malefactors were dragged to the Tiber. The hook was fastened in the neck. **adeo alimenta subducta,** *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 23, says that he prolonged his life until the ninth day by eating the stuffing of the mattress.

7. reliquias dispersas: *cf.* Dio, lviii. 22, "All were deeply grieved to hear that he had forbidden the bones of Drusus and Agrippina to be laid in the Mausoleum of Augustus, and that he had ordered them secretly buried, that they might never be found." Caligula, however, finally placed the remains of Nero, Drusus, and Agrippina in the Mausoleum; *cf.* Dio, lix. 3. **vix quandoque**: *with difficulty some time after.*

8. viginti sibi, *etc.*: Tiberius followed the precedent established by Augustus, in maintaining this privy council. *Aug.* 35, *sibique in-*

stituit consilia sortiri semenstria cum quibus de negotiis ad frequentem senatum referendis ante tractaret. *Cf.* Dio, lvii. 7.

13. Aelium Seianum: see note on p. 26. 9. The account of his death is among the lost portions of Tacitus' works. For a detailed account of his influence and fall, see Dio, lviii. 2–15. An English translation of these chapters may be found in Allen's edition of the *Annals* of Tacitus, pp. 343–353. Also *cf.* Juv. *Sat.* x. 56–113. **ad summam potentiam**, *etc.*: Suetonius' reason is but a shallow one, and is not supported by the statements of other authors. Dio, lviii. 14, in stating that the charge of being Sejanus' friend was sufficient to cause one's condemnation, says: "As though Tiberius had not loved him; for which reason, others, too, had been so devoted to him."

15. nepotemque: Tiberius, son of Drusus, killed by Caligula; *cf. Calig.* chap. 23. 20.

16. suum naturalem: *his own*, *i.e.* not by adoption.

18. Graeculos: see note on p. 8. 9. **quibus vel maxime acquiescebat**: *to whom he devoted a great deal of attention.* *Quibus* is dative. For the meaning of *acquiescere* with the dative, see note on p. 19. 17. If *quibus* be taken as ablative, render 'in whom he took especial delight.' This is the rendering of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, but the first seems preferable.

19. exquisitius sermocinantem: *holding forth in far-fetched phrases.*

21. molesta: *labored*, or *affected;* a meaning common in Latin rhetoric. **dialectos** (διάλεκτος): nominative singular; a Greek word in Latin dress.

22. Cinariam: probably the same as *Cynara*, a small island in the Aegean Sea, named from the artichoke (κίναρα) which it produced.

23. secessum: *i.e.* at Rhodes.

25. Seleucum: a celebrated grammarian of Alexandria, who taught at Rome. He wrote a number of commentaries on the Greek poets and was surnamed Homericus.

26. quoque: from *quisque.*

28. contubernio: see note on p. 11. 1.

30. lenta: *phlegmatic.*

31. Theodorus: an eminent rhetorician; a native of Gadara in Syria, but he taught at Rhodes. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* iii. 1. 17, states that Tiberius, while at Rhodes, showed great interest in attending his lectures. **rhetoricae**: *sc. artis; i.e.* advanced instruction in composition and oratory, as given by the *rhetor.*

32. subinde: *now and then.*

Page 31. **1. πηλὸν αἵματι πεφυραμένον**: *mud kneaded with blood.*

2. id est lutum, *etc.*: a gloss.

4. moderationis simulatione: see introductory note on Tiberius, p. 143.

5. scurram: probably an ordinary jester, and not one of the mimes who sometimes followed and bantered in the funeral procession. Dio, lvii. 14, says that some one was seen to whisper in the ear of a dead man, and when asked what he had said, replied that he had commanded the corpse to announce to Augustus that the people had as yet received nothing, referring to the legacies that Augustus had left them.

8. recipere debitum: a play upon the word *debitum*; 'what was due him,' *i.e.* his portion of the legacy, or death, which latter was the emperor's meaning.

11. perneganti: *pernego*, 'to refuse absolutely,' is archaic and post-Augustan.

12. Pompeianus: *a Pompeian, i.e.* subject to proscription and death, as were the partisans of Pompey. **acerba cavillatione,** *etc.*: *making a biting pun upon the man's name, and the misfortune of the old party, i.e.* the Pompeians. On the plural, *partium*, see note on p. 4. 6.

14. iudicia maiestatis cogi, *etc.*: *proceedings against treason to be pressed.* On meaning of *maiestas*, see note on p. 2. 23. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 72, gives the name of this praetor as Pompeius Macer. He also remarks that Tiberius revived the old law of *maiestas*, but gave it a wider application than of old. As illustrated in the following examples, anything that injured the dignity of the state as represented in the person of the emperor, might be construed as treasonable; *cf.* Dio, lvii. 19.

16. statuae quidam, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 74 (15 A.D.), states that in the trial of Granius Marcellus, praetor of Bithynia, this among other charges was brought against him, but that he was finally absolved from the charge of treason.

18. per tormenta quaesita est: *i.e.* the witnesses were treated like slaves whose testimony could be received only under torture.

21. cecidisse: from *caedo*, 'to beat.' **effigiem**: *i.e.* Augustus'.

23. existimatione aliqua laesisse: *to have criticised.*

26. multa praeterea . . . factitavit, *etc.*: *moreover, he committed so many cruel and savage deeds under the guise of strictness in correcting the morals of the state, but really following his natural instincts, that, etc.*

29. nonnulli versiculis, *etc.:* according to Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 72, these verses were directed against his cruelty and haughtiness and the discord between himself and his mother. By a law of the Twelve Tables, defamatory writings were strictly prohibited.

31. asper et immitis, *etc.:* these lines of poetry are in the elegiac distich.

Page 32. **1. non milia centum**: *i.e.* not a quarter of the 400,000 sesterces ($20,000) that constituted a knight's estate.

2. omnia si quaeras, *etc.*: *if you insist on knowing all, you are also an exile at Rhodes.* **exsilium**: *place of exile;* predicate nominative.

6. quam bibit ante merum: on his love for drink, see note on p. 24. 23.

7. Felicem: Sulla was surnamed *Felix*, 'the happy,' or 'fortunate.' Punning upon this, the author of the lines says, 'fortunate for himself, not for Rome.' **Romule**: the name of the founder of Rome is used poetically to indicate the Roman people.

8. sed reducem: *but after his recall; i.e.* when he vented his cruelty upon his foes.

15. volebat accipi: *he desired them to be taken.* The clause *quasi . . . fingerentur* is to be joined closely in thought with *accipi.* **oderint dum probent**: *cf.* the saying attributed to Caligula, *oderint dum metuant, Calig.* chap. 30. 27.

16. dein vera plane, *etc.*: *his subsequent conduct proved them but too true.*

17. quam: equivalent to *postquam*, but used in this way only when the word *quam* can be connected with some expression denoting time, as *diebus* in the present passage.

24. viridiario: *park.* The *viridiarium* was an ornamental garden. The picture of one from Herculaneum shows some birds and dogs walking about the grounds.

25. capite: *with death.* The word *caput* may often refer merely to the political life or status of a citizen. It is used in the present instance with reference to the physical life.

26. primarum cohortium: a legion was divided into ten cohorts; but inasmuch as the word *cohors* was applied to any body of troops not connected with the legions, it seems best to understand the expression as equivalent to *cohortium praetoriarum;* otherwise the plural is puzzling.

28. mox in omne genus crudelitatis, *etc.*: this was especially

true after the death of his mother, who, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 3 (29 A.D.), exercised a strong control over Tiberius; nor did Sejanus dare to oppose her authority.

29. nepotum: the children of Germanicus and Agrippina.

30. nurus: Agrippina.

Page 33. **1. post cuius interitum,** *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 19 (23 A.D.), who states that he ordered put to death indiscriminately people of every age and both sexes who were then in custody charged with being attached to Sejanus.

4. commentario: this memoir is mentioned in *Dom.* 20, *praeter commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris nihil lectitabat.*

7. alterum: Nero; killed, 31 A.D. **alterum**: Drusus; killed, 33 A.D.

9. longum est: *it would be tedious.* Note the idiom where one might expect the subjunctive; but *cf.* the English expression, ''Tis a long story.'

12. religiosus: a *dies religiosus* was a day of ill omen, on which no business of importance could be undertaken. It was so called because originally dedicated to the gods of the lower world. Aulus Gellius, iv. 9. 5, says that many incorrectly call that kind of a day *nefastus*, a day on which court and assemblies could not be held, and it is certainly so used occasionally by Latin authors. **sacer**: seems to be here used with about the same meaning as *religiosus*, but intensified; render, *accursed.*

13. ineunte anno novo: kept as a festival by the Romans. On the practice of giving gifts on this day, see note on p. 21. 12.

15. interdictum ne, *etc.*: *even when being dragged to the Tiber, the bodies of the condemned were surrounded by armed men to keep back the friends, who were not allowed to give the corpses burial, even when cast up by the river; cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 19. Dio, lviii. 16, says, however, that Tiberius at first not only allowed the friends of Sejanus to mourn him, but forbade any one to interfere with another's expression of grief.

17. nemini delatorum, *etc.*: *credence was given every informer.*

19. obiectum est poetae, *etc.*: the poet was Mamercus Scaurus, and his accuser, Macro; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 29. Dio, lviii. 24, says that the tragedy was entitled *Atreus*, that Tiberius took the allusion to himself, and forced the author to commit suicide. Becker thinks that he detects a lacuna in line 20, and suggests as a reading, *in tragoedia Agamemnone principem, etc.*

21. et historico, *etc.*: the historian was Cremutius Cordus; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34. Dio, lvii. 24, states that he, too, committed suicide.

23. quamvis probarentur: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

26. sermonis et colloquii: *speech and conversation.*

27. certi: the transfer of *certus* from the thing to the person who is determined to do a thing, is a usage that became current in prose through the influence of the Augustan poets.

31. nemo punitorum non: *every one who had been put to death.* **Gemonias**: see note on p. 29. 17. **unco**: see note on p. 30. 5.

Page 34. **3. vis adhibita vivendi**: *i.e.* they were compelled to live.

6. recognoscendis custodiis: *custodiae*, with the meaning of 'persons kept in custody,' or 'prisoners,' is post-Augustan; *cf.* Introd. II. § 1, *d; recognoscere* with the same force as *recensere* becomes more common after the Augustan period.

10. affuerit: Introd. II. § 3, *a* (2). **nano**: it was customary for the wealthy Romans to keep dwarfs and buffoons (*copreae*) as a means of amusing themselves and their guests; *cf.* Sarmentus in the suite of Maecenas, Hor. *Serm.* i. 5. 52 *seq.*

14. Paconi: this was Marcus Paconius, one time *legatus* of Silanus, proconsul of Asia. In Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 28, he is referred to as a hater of princes.

17. veneno interemptum: this, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 8, was not discovered until eight years afterward.

18. Livillae: called Livia by Tacitus; she was a sister of Germanicus.

19. cognovit: he learned this through Apicata, the deserted wife of Sejanus, after the latter's death; *cf.* Dio, lviii. 11.

24. aliquis ex necessariis quaestioni: *i.e.* some one whose testimony was necessary in the investigation. *Ex necessariis* is partitive.

31. per fallaciam: they were induced, under the pretence of good fellowship, to drink copiously.

32. fidicularum: *of the cords.* The word is a diminutive of *fides*, 'string of a musical instrument.'

Page 35. **2. Thrasyllus**: the famous astrologer. See note on p. 10. 32. Dio, lviii. 27, states that Thrasyllus, after accurately calculating the hour of his own death, stated that the emperor would live ten years longer than he.

5. **suspectum haberet**: note the predicate use of the participle with *habere*; lit. 'he had Gaius suspected.' From this it is but a step to the use of *habere* as an auxiliary verb. This Gaius was afterward the emperor Caligula. **ex adulterio**: between Livilla and Sejanus.

10. **praetrepidus**: a post-Augustan intensified form of *trepidus*. **contumeliis obnoxius**: *exposed to insult.*

13. **disicere**: *suppress.*

14. **Praenestinarum sortium**: *of the oracle of Praeneste.* At Praeneste, the modern Palestrina, there was a temple of *Fortuna Primigenia*, or firstborn daughter of Jove, with an oracle often mentioned under the name *Praenestinae sortes.* The origin of the oracle in the finding of the *sortes* is told by Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 41. These *sortes* were tablets of oak with letters carved upon them. Of *sortes* in general, Cicero remarks: "What, then, is a lot? Much the same as the game of mora or dice, and other games of chance in which luck and fortune are everything, and reason and skill are nothing." He goes on to say that all that kept the *Praencstinae sortes* from falling into contempt was the beauty and antiquity of the temple there.

16. **unum et alterum**: these two cases are mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 27; the officials were Aelius Lamia and Arruntius. Elsewhere (*Ann.* i. 80) he makes the general statement: "He finally became so undecided that he assigned provinces to some whom he was never to send from the city."

18. **donec**: the use of this conjunction with the subjunctive to denote an actual fact is common in post-Augustan Latin. The usage began with Livy. See Introd. II. § 6, *f.*

21. **exsequenda curarent**: *curare* followed by the gerundive is equivalent to the English idiom, 'to have a thing done.' **nurum ac nepotes**: Agrippina, Nero, and Drusus.

22. **obsutaque lectica**: *i.e.* the curtains of the *lectica* were sewed together that those within might not be seen.

23. **loco movit**: *transferred: i.e.* from one place to another; *loco* is ablative of separation.

25. **quamvis . . . videret**: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5). *Cf.* Dio, lviii. 2, "For the number of statues which the senate, knights, tribes, and influential men erected in his honor, surpasses all calculation."

29. **ut a se**, *etc.*: Sejanus' presence as consul would be required at Rome. **collegam sibi adsumpsit**: Dio's statement (lviii. 4) is the same. After Tiberius heard that Sejanus had won the favor of the most powerful and influential men of the state, and was concealing his actions, he thus attacked him, as indicated in the text.

30. **longo intervallo**: *after a long interval.*

31. **spe affinitatis**, *etc.*: he led Sejanus to believe that he would give him the daughter of his son Drusus.

32. **tribuniciae potestatis**: on the significance of this power, see note on p. 7. 12.

Page 36. 4. **sic quoque**: *i.e.* notwithstanding these precautions.

7. **ducemque constitui**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 23, "Some state that Macro had been enjoined to take Drusus from his prison in the palace and proclaim him emperor, should Sejanus have recourse to arms."

8. **speculabundus ex altissima rupe**, *etc.*: *looking, from time to time, from a lofty cliff, for the signals, which, for fear that the messengers should be dilatory, he had ordered made in the distance at each step in the proceedings. Speculabundus* is a verbal adjective, having the force of a present participle. The clause *ut . . . factum foret* is subordinate, in indirect discourse. The tense is explained by the fact that it represents the future perfect of the direct.

11. **verum et oppressa coniuratione**: *but even though the conspiracy was crushed.* On the force of *et*, see Introd. II. § 6, *d.*

13. **quae vocatur Ionis**: *which is named the villa of Io.* Why the villa received this name is a matter of conjecture. Possibly it contained a painting representing the myth of Io. Roth and the earlier editions read *Iovis*, and it is explained that Tiberius built twelve villas on the island (*cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 67, *sed tum duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus insederat*) and that they were given the names of the twelve greater divinities. It seems best to understand Tacitus as meaning that Tiberius occupied villas already built there, probably by Augustus. The reading of the text is that of the Memmian manuscript, and there seems no justification for changing it; *cf.* Ihm, *Hermes* xxxvi., 1901, pp. 286–290.

15. **nullo non damnatorum**: every person condemned to death.

16. **in orchestra positos**: *put in the orchestra: i.e.* scattered among the senators, whose seats were in the orchestra.

19. **proferret ultro**, *etc.*: Dio, lvii. 23, says that he even had the defamatory remarks transcribed on the public records. **ultro**: *actually.*

20. **Artabani**: Artabanus III, also known as Arsaces XIX.

24. **pertaesus**: this use of *pertaesus* with object accusative, after the analogy of *perosus*, is found only in Suetonius. **tali epistulae principio**: *with a letter which began as follows.*

25. tantum non: *only not, i.e.* 'all but.' **summam malorum**: *his extreme misery.*

27. quid scribam: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 6, quotes these same words and assigns them to a letter written in defence of Cotta Messalina.

30. Roth's reading is: *existimant quidam praescisse haec eum peritia futurorum ac multo ante, etc.* As there is nothing to which *haec* can be easily referred, and as *ac* is wanting in the Memmian manuscript, Becker regards *praescisse* as a gloss.

31. quandoque: *in time to come.*

Page 37. **1. patriae appellationem**, *etc.*: see note on p. 17. 25.

2. maiore dedecore: ablative of attendant circumstance.

5. vel cum ait: *for example, when he says.* This use of *vel*, implying that other examples might be cited, is common in colloquial Latin.

9. mutari: the passive voice has a middle force.

12. huic mutatae . . . opinioni eripiat: *may take me from you, should you change your opinion of me.*

15. inconstantiam contrarii de me, *etc.*: *fickleness in having changed your opinion of me.*

16. corpore fuit, *etc.*: this description of the personal appearance of Tiberius is the fullest extant. Velleius, ii. 94, thus characterizes him in early life: "A youth who had been trained in the noblest principles, who was richly endowed with high birth, beauty, dignity, valuable knowledge, and exalted capacity, and who from the beginning gave promise of becoming the great man he is now, and who by his looks proclaimed himself a prince." The following was said of him in his old age (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57): "Some believe that in his old age he was ashamed of his personal appearance, for he was exceedingly slight, with a tall bent figure; the top of his head was bald and his face unsightly by reason of ulcerous sores, and disfigured by patches of plaster."

17. latus ab umeris: *broad in the shoulders.* The ablative in this construction is probably of the same origin as that explained in note on p. 25. 6.

22. talitro: *by snapping it with his fingers.* The exact English equivalent, 'fillip,' is rarely heard except in the form 'flip.'

23. pone occipitium: *behind;* lit. 'behind the back part of the head.' **summissiore**: *hanging rather long.* See Introd. II. § 4, *a* (2).

24. honesta: *handsome;* this is a poetic use of the word.

26. quod . . . esset: subjunctive by attraction. **noctu etiam . . . viderent**: Dio, lvii. 2, also mentions this peculiarity of vision. *Viderent* is a subjunctive of characteristic.

28. cervice rigida et obstipa: *with a confirmed stoop.* As *obstipus* simply means 'bent,' the passage has been taken to mean, 'walked with head thrown stiffly back.' This would be the only instance where *obstipus* is so used, while there are several passages in which it has the opposite meaning. Moreover, the present interpretation is corroborated by Tacitus' description. With regard to the word *rigida*, it may be remarked that when a person is much bent, it gives the appearance of stiffness to the neck, and that this is especially noticeable when the head is turned.

29. adducto fere vultu: *generally with a stern expression on his face.*

31. molli quadam gesticulatione: *a sort of supple movement.* Note the use of the indefinite pronoun *quidam* with attributive adjective to signify that the writer is in doubt just how to characterize the peculiarity.

Page 38. **1. animadvertit Augustus,** *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 10, states that Augustus excused his faults to the senate, but did it for the purpose of calling attention to them.

4. quamvis . . . rexerit: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

5. sine adiumento consiliove medicorum: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 46: "He used to ridicule the medical profession, and those who after thirty years of age needed the advice of others to tell what was beneficial or harmful for their constitutions."

7. circa: equivalent to *de*; see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

10. numquam non: *always.*

11. fulmine afflari negetur, *etc.*: Pliny, *N. H.* xxv. 135, also mentions this superstition and that Tiberius wore the laurel as a protection.

13. artes liberales: *the branches of a liberal education.* These comprised the study of poetry, oratory, history, rhetoric, and philosophy. **utriusque generis**: *i.e.* of Latin and Greek.

14. Corvinum Messalam: M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, who fought on the republican side at Philippi. He was pardoned by the triumvirs, and became Augustus' friend and served him well as a general. He was besides an historian, poet, grammarian, and orator. None of his works are extant.

16. morositate: *mannerism.* The word refers to the stiffness of

his style. Coupled with *adfectatione*, it conveys the idea of stiff and unnatural. Augustus, *Aug.* 86, censured Tiberius for this fault: *nec Tiberio parcit et exoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti.* Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 11, also speaks of his obscurity of style: *Tiberio etiam in rebus quas non occuleret, seu natura sive adsuetudine, suspensa semper et obscura verba.* Elsewhere (*Ann.* xiii. 3) he states that the obscurity was intentional.

17. ex tempore: *i.e.* when speaking without previous preparation. **a cura**: *i.e.* after meditation, as contrasted with *ex tempore*. For the preposition, see Introd. II. § 5 (1), *a somno.*

19. L. Caesaris: see note on p. 7. 19.

20. Euphorionem: an obscure tragic poet of Chalcis, who lived in the third century B.C. **Rhianum**: a Cretan, and a contemporary of Euphorio. **Parthenium**: a Greek erotic poet of the age of Augustus. He was Virgil's Greek teacher. There are extant from his pen thirty-six prose sketches on the theme of unhappy lovers.

22. veteres: *i.e.* authors before the time of Alexander the Great.

24. certatim . . . ediderunt: *i.e.* they vied with each other in writing commentaries on these poets, which they dedicated to Tiberius.

25. historiae fabularis: *mythology.*

29. inter virgines: Thetis, to prevent Achilles from taking part in the Trojan war, sent him, disguised as a maiden, to the court of Lycomedes, king of the island of Scyros, where he was known as Pyrrha (*Rufa*), from his auburn hair. On these erudite questions, *cf.* Juv. vii. 233 seq.

31. pietati: *filial duty.*

32. Minois exemplo: *i.e. sine tibicine;* the story being that Minos, while offering sacrifice on the island of Paros, heard of his son's death. He took the garland from his head, ordered the music to stop, and then proceeded with the sacrifice. The words, *Minois exemplo*, therefore, refer merely to *sine tibicine* and not to *ture ac vino.*

Page 39. **2. alioqui**: *notwithstanding; cf.* German *überhaupt.* Joined with *quamquam*, the word has a strong concessive force. Render, *notwithstanding the fact that.*

4. monopolium: *cf.* note on p. 19. 8.

6. cum in quodam decreto patrum, *etc.*: the circumstances are given by Dio, lvii. 15: "Tiberius issued an edict to the effect that no man should wear garments of silk, nor employ golden dishes, except for purposes of sacrificing. When some were in doubt as to

whether silver dishes with golden emblems were forbidden, Tiberius issued a new decree, but forbade the use of the word 'emblem,' because it was Greek, and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that there was no exact equivalent in Latin."

7. ἔμβλημα: the *emblemata* were inlaid figures of metal attached by riveting or soldering to the exterior or interior of cups. For this word the Latin had no equivalent, as the *sigilla*, a word of nearly the same meaning, probably formed an integral part of the vessel.

8. nostratem: *sc. vocem.*

9. per ambitum verborum: *by a circumlocution.* In Latin rhetoric the word *ambitus* also means 'the period.'

10. Graece . . . interrogatum: why he was questioned in Greek is not apparent. Possibly his interlocutor knew no Latin. *Cf.* Dio, lvii. 15, "He likewise forbade a centurion, who was about to give his testimony in Greek before the senate, to do so, though he had himself listened to many cases presented in that language before that body, and had asked questions with regard to many of these."

12. redire conatus: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 1 (32 A.D.): "Tiberius sailed along the coast of Campania, either intending to enter the city, or making that pretence, because he had really decided not to do so. He even came as far as the gardens of the Tiber, but ashamed of his wickedness and lust, he again made for his solitary retreat among the rocks in the sea."

13. ad proximos naumachiae hortos: *to the gardens that were near the artificial lake devoted to naval manœuvres.* The word *naumachia* means either a sham naval battle, as in *Claud.* chap. 21. 14, or the place of such an exhibition, as in the present instance. This *naumachia* was the *naumachia vetus* of Augustus in the XIVth *regio* of the city across the Tiber, on one edge of which was the grove of the Caesars. *Cf. Aug.* 43, *item navale proelium circa Tiberim cavato solo in quo nunc Caesarum nemus est.* The *Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 23, gives the dimensions, *navalis proeli spectaculum dedi trans Tiberim, in quo loco nunc nemus est Caesarum, cavato solo in longitudinem mille et octingentos pedes, in latitudinem mille et ducentos.* Xiphilin, lxvi. 25, is authority for the statement that the place was used for such exhibitions after the time of Augustus; *cf. Nero*, chap. 27. 3.

14. statione: *i.e.* the guard or garrison stationed there.

15. Appia: *sc. Via*, the great southern highway extending from Rome to Brundisium. It followed the coast closely as far as Capua, its original terminal. From there it was constructed across the peninsula to Brundisium.

16. lapidem: *i.e.* the *miliarium*.

18. serpens draco: *a serpent; serpens* is the participial adjective. Serpents were frequently kept as pets by wealthy Romans.

21. Asturae: a town situated upon a small island at the mouth of the river Astura, which flows between Antium and Circeii. Cicero had an estate at this place.

24. castrensibus ludis: *i.e.* at games given by the soldiers encamped at Circeii. The exhibition probably took place in the forum of the town, which was covered with sand for the purpose.

25. desuper petit: *i.e.* he threw the weapons from above the arena. If the games were given in the forum, he was probably seated in the *Maeniana*, for which see note on p. 52. 21.

26. latere convulso: *seized with a pain in the side.* **exaestuarat**: *had become heated.*

27. sustentavit, *etc.*: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 50: "At length his bodily strength began to fail him. There was, however, the same stern mind, the same energy in look and words; at times an assumption of affability to conceal his weakness, which was quite apparent."

31. nam Chariclen, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 50, tells the same story, remarking that Charicles was not Tiberius' physician, but that he was always at hand, so that the emperor might consult him if he wished.

Page 40. **2. recumbere hortatus est**: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1).

4. singulos valere, *etc.*: *addressed them individually as they bade him good-by.*

5. in actis senatus: see note on p. 4. 23.

6. strictim: *cursorily.*

8. pro contempto se habitum: *that he was treated as a nobody.*

9. non temere, *etc.*: *not inclined to be very bold except when in a place of safety.*

11. villa Lucullana: a beautiful villa at Baiae, formerly the property of Lucullus, but at that time in the possession of Tiberius.

12. aetatis anno: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 50 (37 A.D.), *sic Tiberius finivit, octavo et septuagesimo aetatis anno;* also 51, *mox rei Romanae arbitrium tribus ferme et viginti obtinuit.* Dio, lviii. 28, is more explicit: "He lived seventy-seven years, four months, and nine days."

15. Gaio: Tiberius' successor, surnamed Caligula.

16. in remissione fortuitae febris: *fortuita febris* is a fever that results from natural causes, and not one induced by poison. Tacitus,

Ann. vi. 50, states that Macro ordered him smothered. Dio, lviii. 28, says that Gaius did the deed.

23. nemine: see note on p. 9. 14.

25. Temenitem: a title given to Apollo from Temnos, a place near Syracuse. **amplitudinis et artis eximiae**: *of large size and artistic workmanship.*

26. in bibliotheca: this was the library connected with the temple of Apollo, on the Palatine hill. *Cf. Aug.* 29, *templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinae domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarant: addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque.*

29. ante . . . quam obiret: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

30. turris Phari: *lighthouse.* Pharos was the name of an island near Alexandria, on which Ptolemy Philadelphus built his famous light; afterward the word Pharos was used to signify any lighthouse. The best known lighthouses in Italy were situated at Capreae, Brundisium, Ostia, and Ravenna.

31. cinis e favilla et carbonibus . . . inlatis: *ashes of the coals that had been brought in glowing; favilla et carbonibus* is a case of hendiadys.

Page 41. **4. discurrentes pars**: note the *constructio ad sensum.*

7. Gemonias: see note on p. 29. 17.

9. nam cum senatus consulto, *etc.:* Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 51 (21 A.D.), mentions that this decree granted a ten days' interval, but remarks that Tiberius never became more placable by the lapse of time. Dio, lviii. 27, states that on this occasion a number escaped by virtue of the enactment.

13. hominum fidem: the ordinary expression for imploring help.

16. quasi . . . permanente: see Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

18. Atellam potius, *etc.:* the people sarcastically suggested that it would be more fitting to carry the corpse to Atella, a small town of Campania; he was not worthy of Rome. It will be remembered, too, that Atella was the home of the *Atellana*, a kind of farce, which would make the suggestion still more contemptuous.

19. semiustilandum: to half burn the body would be a sign of neglect and disrespect.

23. sed eodem exemplo: *to the same purport;* lit. 'after the same pattern.'

24. humillimorum signis: *i.e.* the wills were witnessed by people of very low rank. For the signing and sealing of wills, see note on p. 15. 28.

25. heredes, *etc.*: *cf. Calig.* chap. 14. 3. **aequis partibus**: ablative absolute.

26. Gaium . . . Druso: see *stemma*, p. 142. **substituitque in vicem**: according to the provision of the will, should either die, the other was to succeed. Tiberius' claim was disregarded by Gaius.

27. legata plerisque: according to Dio, lix. 2, these were all paid by Caligula.

29. vicorum magistris: after the reorganization of the city by Augustus, there were four *magistri vicorum* to each *vicus*. The *vici* in a city were either streets or the blocks bounded by streets, or, as here, sub-divisions of the *regiones*. According to Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 66, there were two hundred and sixty-five of these subdivisions in the time of Augustus.

CALIGULA — EMPEROR, 37–41 A.D.

Sources: Suetonius. Dio Cassius, lix. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 6, 10; xix. 1, 5. Philo, in *Flaccum* and *Legat. ad Gaium.*

The accession of Gaius, son of Germanicus, was hailed with delight. The informers were suppressed and election of magistrates was restored to the assemblies. These and other reforms were short-lived, however, for Gaius soon reverted to the system of Tiberius, though lacking Tiberius' ability as an administrator. Great power, moreover, turned his weak head. He claimed divine honors, undertook ridiculous campaigns, and squandered the resources of the empire in wild schemes. The ancient authorities are one in drawing the portrait of a madman, and their pages are filled with the accounts of his insane antics. The only important constitutional change was the formation of a fifth decury of jurors.

Page 42. **5. Germanicus**: see note on p. 23. 20, and *stemma*, p. 142. **Drusi**: the elder Drusus, brother of Tiberius. **minoris Antoniae**: daughter of Mark Antony and Octavia, sister of Augustus.

6. adoptatus: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 57, Augustus was prevailed upon by his wife to adopt Tiberius, who in his turn was compelled to adopt Germanicus. *Cf.* Dio, lv. 13: "Augustus, however, adopted Tiberius, . . . but fearing that he might aspire to power, compelled him to adopt Germanicus, son of his brother Drusus, and that, too, notwithstanding the fact that Tiberius had a son of his own." **quinquennio ante quam**: twenty-five was the minimum age; see note on p. 7. 10.

7. **ante quam . . . liceret**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

8. **statim**: *i.e.* without holding the intermediate offices of aedile and praetor. He became consul, not in the same year that he held the quaestorship, but five years after, being quaestor, 7 A.D., and consul, 12 A.D.; *cf.* Dio, lv. 31 and lvi. 26.

11. **summam rei publicae**: *the sovereignty.*

12. **incertum pietate an,** *etc.*: *he held in check, and in so doing, whether he showed greater regard for duty, or greater firmness, is difficult to say.* The word *pietas* may mean duty to the state and sovereign, to the gods, or to one's relatives. On the action of the legions in Germany, *cf. Tib.* chap. 25. 28 *seq.*

13. **mox**: for the force of the word, see note on p. 15. 21. **consul deinde iterum**: 18 A.D.

14. **ad componendum Orientis statum**: for his command in the East, his death, and the supposed complicity of Piso therein, see *Tib.* chap. 52. 26 *seq.* and notes.

15. **expulsus**: note the force of the word. Tiberius compelled him to go. **Armeniae regem devicisset**: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 56, says that Armenia had no king at that time: *regem illa tempestate non habebant, amoto Vonone.* Possibly it was this Vonones whom Germanicus had conquered.

20. **cor inter ossa**: Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 187, states that it was generally believed that the hearts of those who had died of a stomach disorder or of poison could not be burned. Continuing, he says that Vitellius in his accusation of Piso cited the fact that the heart of Germanicus was not consumed on the funeral pyre, as a proof that he had been poisoned.

Page 43. 1. **quasi plane ita necesse esset**: *i.e.* as though there were absolutely no alternative. For the clause *quasi . . . esset*, see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

2. **gravissimis verborum ac rerum acerbitatibus . . . adfecit**: *i.e.* he bitterly opposed Germanicus by word and deed. For the abstract *acerbitatibus*, see Introd. II. § 1, *d*.

4. **capitis**: *to death;* see note on p. 32. 25. For Tacitus' account of the trial, see *Ann.* iii. 10–15. Dio, lvii. 18, states definitely that Piso, after obtaining an adjournment of the trial, committed suicide.

5. **corporis animique virtutes**: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* ii. 13, "One praised the noble birth of his general, another his handsome person, very many lauded his endurance, his affability, and his even temper, displayed both in serious matters and in amusements." Dio, lvii. 18, says,

"He was of handsome personal appearance, and possessed a character of sterling worth."

8. in utroque . . . genere: see note on p. 38. 13.

10. conciliandaeque . . . efficax studium: *wonderfully desirous of winning the esteem of men and of deserving their affection, and wonderfully successful in doing so.*

12. gracilitas crurum: see Introd. II. § 1, *d.*

14. oravit causas: *cf.* Dio, lvi. 26, "Germanicus did nothing that deserves especial mention while holding the office of consul, except that even then he pleaded cases for others." **triumphalis**: agreeing with the subject of *oravit*, and probably referring to the bestowal of the *ornamenta triumphalia*, because he left for the Orient immediately after receiving his regular triumph.

15. cetera studiorum monimenta: *other literary works.* There are still extant Germanicus' paraphrase of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus in 725 lines, and fragments of a paraphrase of the same writer's *Prognostica.* The word *monimenta* is often so applied in Latin. For the force of *et*, see Introd. II. § 6, *d.*

16. civilis: for meaning, see note on p. 17. 14.

17. sicubi . . . cognosceret: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

18. clade Variana: see note on p. 12. 6.

19. veteres . . . humaturus: this was in 15 A.D.; *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 62, who states that the Roman army, six years after the disaster, gave burial to the scattered bones of their countrymen, and that the sad duty filled them with grief and rage against the foe. **humaturus**: for the future participle, see Introd. II. § 4, *a* (1).

21. qualescumque . . . nanctus esset: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

23. clientelas: Introd. II. § 1, *d.*

24. veneficiis quoque et devotionibus: *magical potions and spells.* See note on p. 42. 14; *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 69, who relates that proofs of magic and abominable concoctions were discovered in Piso's house, together with leaden tablets on which Germanicus' name had been engraved.

26. ut amicitiam . . . renuntiaret: the renunciation of friendship was, with the Romans, a formal act, both in the case of individuals and of states.

27. mandaretque domesticis, *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 71, his words were, *vindicabitis vos, si me potius quam fortunam meam fovebatis.*

30. ut Augustus . . . diu cunctatus, *etc.*: this statement is also made by Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 57: *nam dubitaverat* ('had been inclined')

Augustus Germanicum, sororis nepotem et cunctis laudatum, rei Romanae imponere. **necessitudines**: Introd. II. § 1, *d.*

32. adoptandum Tiberio dederit: see note on p. 42. 6.

Page 44. **2. prae turba**: see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

5. prodisse obviam: *came out to meet.* Note the adverbial construction. The adjective construction may also be used; in this case it would be *prodisse obvias.*

11. lapidata: *lapidare*, 'to stone,' does not occur before the Augustan period.

16. posuisse: equivalent to *deposuisse.*

17. regum etiam regem: a title assumed by various kings. By the Romans it was specially applied to the king of the Parthians. In Plutarch, *Pomp.* 38. 15, there is a distinct mention of the title as applied to the Parthian king: "And so he did not deign in his reply to address the Parthian as king of kings, as others do." The Greeks usually applied the term to the king of the Persians.

18. megistanum: *grandees*, a Greek word (μεγιστᾶνες).

19. quod apud Parthos, *etc.*: *which among the Parthians is a sign of mourning;* lit. 'equivalent to a *iustitium*,' for which word see note on p. 28. 17.

22. vesperi: adverbial locative form. **convaluisse tandem percrebruisset**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 82, states that this news was brought by traders from the East.

25. gestientis: *longing.*

28. sálva Roma sálva patria sálvus est Germánicus: a trochaic septenarius. Note that the stress accent and metrical ictus coincide, as was often the case in these popular jingles.

29. fato functum: euphemistic for 'had died.'

31. per festos Decembris mensis dies: this festival of the Saturnalia originally lasted but one day; during the later period of the republic, two days. Augustus extended the time to three days, the 17th, 18th, and 19th of December. Caligula probably added a fourth, and possibly a fifth (see note on p. 52. 2). Later the merry-making lasted as many as seven days.

Page 45. **1. nec temere**: *and with good reason.* **reverentia eius ac metu**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 51, says that Tiberius made a pretence of virtue as long as Germanicus and Drusus lived, but as soon as all shame and fear were cast aside, he followed his natural inclinations. Dio, lvii. 19, remarks that now, there being no one left to

contend with Tiberius for the government, he changed completely, though he had acted well enough before.

4. novem liberos: Nero, Drusus, Tiberius, Gaius (who died in infancy), Gaius (afterward the emperor Caligula), Agrippina (afterward mother of Nero), Drusilla, Julia (also named Livilla), and a son whose name is not known.

7. in aede Capitolinae Veneris: also known as the temple of *Venus Erycina*, dedicated after the battle of Trasumene, 217 B.C., by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

8. Augustus in cubiculo suo positam: *sc. effigiem; but Augustus kept another picture of the child in his bed-chamber.* Note the asyndeton where the clauses are adversative, an idiom common in Latin. **quotiensque introiret**: for the iterative subjunctive, see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

11. Neronem et Drusum : see *Tib.* chap. 54. 24.

14. pridie Kal. Sept. : August 31, 12 A.D. Dio, lix. 7, after telling of the two days' ceremony conducted by Gaius at the dedication of a temple built in honor of Augustus, remarks that the ceremony of the second day, which was the day before the Calends of September, was the more elaborate, because it was the birthday of Gaius as well.

16. Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus: Gnaeus Lentulus, surnamed Gaetulicus, consul, 26 A.D., was commander of the legions in Upper Germany. His great popularity with his soldiers aroused the jealousy of Caligula, who had him put to death, 39 A.D. He was a writer of both prose and verse; see note on p. 26. 17.

17. Plinius Secundus: this is Pliny the Younger. **in Treveris**: in the country of the Treveri. The modern city of *Trèves* derives its name from this tribe.

18. Ambitarvio: the location of this place is not known. **supra Confluentes**: the place was named Confluentes, because situated at the confluence of the Moselle and Rhine. The modern name is Coblentz.

20. versiculi: Introd, II. § 1, *c*. The diminutive indicates the brevity and popular character of the quotation.

24. iam designati, *etc.*: *was even then an omen of a prince to be.*

25. in actis: in the official gazette; for the word *acta*, see note on p. 4. 23. **Anti**: locative; see note on p. 23. 10. **editum**: *sc. Gaium.*

27. ex urbe Herculi sacra: Tibur; *cf. Aug.* 72, *Tibur, ubi etiam in porticibus Herculis templi persaepe ius dixit.*

28. abusumque audentius mendacio: *and that he was emboldened to state this falsehood.*

29. Tiburi: modern Tivoli, a town sixteen miles northeast of Rome, one of the most ancient of Latium. The temple of Hercules, situated here, was one of the largest structures outside of Rome. In classical times Tibur was noted for its fine country homes. Horace possessed a seat near by, and in its neighborhood was situated Hadrian's magnificent villa.

30. et ipse: *he too;* a form of expression found in Livy, but not used by Cicero.

31. supra diximus: chap. 7. **Plinium arguit**, *etc.*: *Pliny is refuted by chronological considerations.*

Page 46. **4. adiuverit**: potential.

5. filias: Drusilla and Agrippina.

6. quod antiqui etiam, *etc.*: *cf.* Priscian vi. 8. 41, '*puer pueri,*' *cuius, femininum* '*puera*' *dicebant antiquissimi, unde et* '*puerpera*' *dicitur, quae puerum vel pueram parit.*

8. ante . . . quam obiret: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

11. ut ducerent, *etc.*: *I made arrangements yesterday with Talarius and Asillius to take the boy with them.*

16. non potuisse ibi nasci: *that the place to which he was afterward brought from Rome, when hardly two years old, could not have been his birthplace.*

18. fidem . . . elevant: *destroy belief in.*

20. instrumenti: *document;* *i.e.* the *acta* mentioned above.

21. locis atque secessibus: hendiadys, 'places of retreat.'

25. Caligulae cognomen: the form *caligula* is the diminutive of the word *caliga*, a heavy military boot studded with nails. It may be rendered 'little boots.' *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 41; also Dio, lvii. 5, "They called him Caligula because he had, for the most part, been brought up in camp, and was accustomed to wear the soldier's boot instead of that used by civilians." **manipulario habitu**: *in the dress of a common soldier. Manipularius* equivalent to *manipularis* is post-Augustan.

27. per hanc . . . consuetudinem: *by being thus brought up as one of them.*

30. tumultuantis: see *Tib.* chap. 25. 26. **in furorem usque praecipites**: *carried quite away by their madness.*

31. conspectu suo: *suo* has the force of the objective genitive *sui.*

Page 47. **1. proximam civitatem**: Trèves, called by the Romans Augusta Treverorum.

3. invidiam quae sibi fieret: *the odium which was being cast upon them.*

4. et: Introd. II. § 6, *d.* **Syriaca expeditione**: see *Calig.* chap. 1. 14.

5. ea relegata: to the island of Pandataria; *cf. Tib.* chap. 53. 11.

6. contubernio: for meaning, see note on p. 11. 1.

8. pro rostris: for the force of *pro*, see note on p. 5. 13. Under the year 29 A.D., Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 1, has this statement: *laudata est pro rostris a Gaio Caesare pronepote, qui mox rerum potitus est.* This would make Caligula sixteen years of age at the time.

9. accitus Capreas: Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, under the date 33 A.D., says that Gaius accompanied Tiberius to Capreae.

11. tirocinio: for meaning, see note on p. 24. 21.

14. perinde . . . ac si: *just as if.* **obliterato suorum casu**: his mother had been banished, his elder brother Nero had been executed, and Drusus was at this time (33 A.D.) in a dungeon under the palace, where he was soon starved to death. *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20: *immanem animum subdola modestia tegens, non damnatione matris non exilio fratrum rupta voce.*

15. quae . . . pateretur: a general relative clause; the subjunctive is iterative; 'if ever he himself suffered anything.' **incredibili dissimulatione,** *etc.*: Tac. *Ann.* vi. 20, "Whatever mood Tiberius assumed for the day, in that did Caligula cloak his own feelings, whence a saying of the orator Passienus, 'never had there been a better slave or a worse master.'"

20. poenisque: as *-que* is lacking in the Memmian manuscript, Bentley regarded *poenis* as a gloss. Other manuscripts have *poenisque.* It seems safer to keep this reading with Roth.

21. ganeas atque adulteria . . . obiret: *he caroused and debauched.* For the literal meaning of *ganeas*, see note on p. 21. 6. The word also means, as here, the conduct of people in these low dives.

24. si . . . posset: an indirect question.

25. quod sagacissimus, *etc.*: *now, of this nature the keen old emperor had such a just conception that, etc.* *Cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 46, who states that on one occasion when Gaius expressed contempt for Sulla, Augustus remarked that Gaius would possess all the vices of Sulla and none of his virtues. Dio, lviii. 23, states that Tiberius selected Gaius as his successor because he thought that his own evil deeds would be

cast into the shade by Gaius' still more evil ones, and that the latter would kill the noblest of the senators who had survived.

27. The words bracketed are clearly a gloss.

28. Phaethontem: according to fable, he nearly burned up the world trying to drive the chariot of the sun; see Ovid, *Met.* ii. 1–366.

29. M. Silani: *consul suffectus* in 15 A.D.

30. duxit uxorem: Dio and Tacitus do not agree with regard to the date of the marriage. The former, lviii. 25, under the year 35 A.D., says that Tiberius celebrated the marriage ceremony of Gaius at Antium. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 20, makes the marriage take place in 33 A.D.

32. insigni testimonio: *i.e.* the selection was a proof that Tiberius highly esteemed the loyalty and character of Gaius.

Page 48. **1. reliquis subsidiis**: in these words reference is made to Drusus son of Tiberius, Germanicus his adopted son, and the two brothers of Caligula, Drusus and Nero.

2. Seiano: see note on p. 26. 9.

5. Macronis: the man employed by Tiberius to present to the senate the letter deposing Sejanus. He succeeded Sejanus as praetorian prefect.

6. sollicitavit ad stuprum: Tacitus' account (*Ann.* vi. 45) differs somewhat from this, for he represents Macro himself as the instigator of the intrigue for the purpose of gaining greater control over Gaius.

8. chirographo: *i.e.* by a document signed in his own handwriting.

9. insinuatus Macroni: *having wormed his way into Macro's favor.* **Tiberium adgressus est**: see *Tib.* chap. 73. 16 and note.

12. suspicionem retinentis: note the concrete expression, equivalent to *suspicionem retinendi.*

15. sint . . . auctores: the expression has the force of a verb of saying, hence the infinitive construction following.

16. etsi . . . professum: *that he had asserted that though he had not committed the murder, he had really at one time thought of committing it.*

22. aut exsequi: *or punish him.*

24. voti compotem fecit: *fulfilled the desires of.* **exoptatissimus**: Introd. II. § 4, *a* (2).

27. plebi urbanae: the ordinary expression signifying the mass of impoverished free citizens outside the two higher orders. There were some two hundred thousand or more of these whose names made up the list of those who were recipients of grain from the state.

29. Miseno: situated upon the promontory of Misenum, near Naples; it was the naval station of the west coast; *cf.* note on p. 13. 21.

32. sidus et pullum et pupum et alumnum: *their star, their chick, the apple of their eye, and their nursling.*

Page 49. **2. inrita Tiberii voluntate**: *cf. Tib.* chap. 76. 25. Dio, lix. 1, relates that Gaius sent the will to the senate by Macro and had it declared invalid, as being the work of a man of failing mental powers, which was indicated by the fact that he had willed dominion to a child not old enough to have a seat in the senate.

3. alterum nepotem: also named Tiberius.

6. ac ne totis: *and even less.*

8. in proximas Campaniae insulas: Capri, Ischia, Procida, are their names at the present time.

14. quique . . . voverent: *who made a formal vow to give their lives if he were spared.* **titulo**: strictly the formula in which they made the vow. One of these people, so Dio narrates, named P. Afranius Potitus, instead of receiving the reward he had expected, was compelled to fulfil his vow. See *Calig.* chap. 27. 5.

16. Artabanus: see note on p. 36. 20.

17. odium semper . . . prae se ferens: *always making a display of his loathing and contempt for Tiberius*; *cf. Tib.* 66. 20.

18. amicitiam . . . ultro: according to Dio, lix. 27, Vitellius, the consular legate, forced him to this act of homage.

20. aquilas et signa: the *aquila* was the standard of the legion as a whole. The *signa* meant the standards of the different maniples, or as a comprehensive term, might include the *aquilae*. **imagines**: each legion had a statue of the emperor, which was carried like a standard by an *imaginifer*, and to which divine honors were paid.

21. et ipse: *himself*; see note on p. 45. 30.

22. pro contione: *publicly*; lit. 'before an assemblage of the citizens.'

24. Pandatariam: see note on p. 29. 11. **Pontias**: these islands lay south of Latium, and were used as places of banishment by the emperors. The group consisted of the islands of Pontia, Sinonia, and Palmaria.

25. fratrisque cineres, *etc.*: this brother was named Nero. *Cf.* Dio, lix. 3: "He gathered with his own hands the bones of his mother and brothers, brought them to Rome, and placed them in the tomb of Augustus." **tempestate turbida**: *in stormy weather*; ablative of attendant circumstance.

27. nec minore scaena: *with no less pomp.*

28. praefixo . . . vexillo: as it was the *vexillum* that floated over the general's tent, so it was probably the same that indicated the flag-ship. **Tiberi**: ablative of the way or route taken.

29. splendidissimum: from Augustus' reign on, those knights who were of illustrious birth and possessed the property qualification of the senatorial rank, formed an upper class and were termed *equites illustres* or *splendidi.*

30. frequenti die: *i.e.* at a time of day when the streets were crowded with people. **Mausoleo**: the imperial tomb built by Augustus on the site of the present *Teatro Correa.* Some remains of the work are still to be seen; *cf. Aug.* 100 (*reliquias Augusti*), *mausoleo condiderunt. Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque Tiberis sexto suo consulatu exstruxerat.*

31. inferiasque, *etc.*: *ceremonies in their memory to be performed yearly by the state.* **annua religione**: ablative of quality.

32. carpentum: a two-wheeled covered carriage used to convey the Roman matrons in public processions. The right to ride in the *carpentum* on such occasions was greatly coveted, and was granted distinguished women by decree of the senate.

Page 50. **1. traduceretur**: *i.e.* her image. **at**: *moreover; at* is often used to introduce a different, but not entirely opposite, thought.

4. patruum Claudium: afterward the emperor Claudius; see *Claud.* chap. 5. Dio, lix. 6, states that, hitherto ranked as an equestrian, he was now in his forty-sixth year made at the same time a senator and consul, 37 A.D.

6. fratrem: *cousin.* This was Gemellus, son of Drusus, grandson of Tiberius, and adopted son of Gaius. **die virilis togae**: also called the *dies tirocinii.* See notes on pp. 5. 19 and 24. 21.

7. principem iuventutis: in the reign of Augustus this title, originally applied to the knights as a body, was given to his grandsons Lucius and Gaius Caesar. From that time on, the title was generally bestowed upon the heir to the empire, or upon one closely connected with the royal family. **de sororibus,** *etc.*: Dio, lix. 3, "Gaius decreed that the honors granted the Vestals be conferred upon his sisters; that they sit in the same place of honor that he did at the equestrian games, and that the vows offered for his own safety and that of the state, be offered for them as well."

10. relationibus: *motions.*

12. pari populaYritate . . . restituit: *he rendered himself equally popular by restoring, etc.*

14. gratiam fecit: *pardoned.* **commentarios**: Dio, lix. 4, states that the letters burned were copies, not the real ones; *cf. Calig.* chap. 30. 30.

18. libellum de salute: *a memorial relating to his personal safety.*

19. nihil sibi admissum: *that he had been guilty of no crime.* On the construction of *sibi*, see Introd. II. § 2, *c* (1). Note that the word *admittere* indicates the moral liability; *committere*, the overt act.

21. spinthrias: *sodomites.* **aegre ne . . . exoratus**: *with difficulty prevailed upon not, etc.*

22. Titi Labieni: an orator and author of the time of Augustus; a bitter opponent of the imperial régime.

23. Cordi Cremuti: an historian who wrote of the achievements of Augustus. See *Tib.* chap. 61. 21, and note. **Cassi Severi**: a Roman orator exiled by Augustus. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 72, says that it was the virulent attacks of Cassius upon people of distinction that caused Augustus to apply the law of *maiestas* to libellous writings.

25. sua: the ablative with *interest;* for origin of construction, see Bennett, *Appendix to Lat. Gram.* 249, 3.

26. rationes imperii: this statement of the financial condition of the empire — a practice begun by Augustus — had been neglected after Tiberius' retirement to Capri. *Cf.* Dio, lix. 9: "Following the example of Augustus, he (Gaius) now made up and published an account of the state revenues, which had not been made public since the withdrawal of Tiberius."

29. sine sui appellatione: *without appeal to him; sui* is objective genitive.

31. equo: the *equites equo publico*, having long ceased to serve as cavalry in the army, would have disappeared with the other obsolete military divisions, had not Augustus revived them and sent out under experienced generals those knights of distinction who intended to follow a military career, to learn their future profession. To take away the horse was equivalent to deprivation of rank.

32. nominibus modo: *i.e.* the only mark of disapprobation was the omission of their names in reading the roll of knights.

Page 51. **2. quintam decuriam,** *etc.*: according to the *lex Aurelia*, 70 B.C., jurors were selected from the three classes, — senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii.* Each class formed a *decuria.* Augus-

tus made a fourth *decuria* of those whose rating was inferior, to act in cases of minor importance; *cf. Aug.* 32: *ad tres iudicum decurias quartam addidit ex inferiore censu, quae ducenariorum vocaretur iudicaretque de levioribus summis.* *Cf.* note on p. 27. 26.

3. suffragia populo reddere: from this it would appear that Tiberius had deprived the people of the right of voting for their magistrates. The words of Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 15, imply the same thing, though he is speaking particularly of the election of praetors. His statement is that the election then passed from the *comitia centuriata* to the senate. The words of Dio, lix. 9, are quite definite: "He (Caligula) was praised for having restored to the people the right of election, thus annulling what Tiberius had established in this matter."

5. sed et Iuliae Augustae: *as well as those of Julia Augusta, i.e. Livia.* **suppresserat**: *cf. Tib.* chap. 51. 7.

6. sine calumnia: *i.e.* without throwing odium upon Tiberius for having suppressed them. **repraesentata persolvit**: *he paid at once.* **ducentesimam**: *sc. partem.* This tax, at first one per cent, was instituted by Augustus to furnish a pension fund; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 78. Tiberius afterward reduced it to one-half per cent (*Ann.* ii. 42). The formation of this fund is thus described in the *Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 7: *M. Lepido et L. Arruntio cos.* (6 A.D.) *in aerarium militare, quod ex meo consilio constitutum est, ex quo praemia darentur militibus, qui vicena aut plura stipendia emeruissent H.S. milliens et septingentiens ex patrimonio meo detuli.*

9. reditum: this probably refers to the income of the private purse of these sovereigns, as *fructum vectigaliorum* refers to the public revenues.

10. Antiocho Commageno: Commagene became a Roman province in 17 A.D. In 38 A.D. Caligula, as indicated in the text, restored his paternal kingdom to Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. This king afterward, in the reign of Nero, assisted the Romans in their wars against the Parthians, and against the Jews in the time of Vespasian. Accused, in 72 A.D., of conspiring with the Parthians, he was deprived of his kingdom, and thereafter resided at Rome. **sestertium milies**: *100,000,000 sesterces*; about $5,000,000. **confiscatum**: agreeing with *milies* used as an indeclinable noun. The meaning is, that the sum had been paid into the Roman treasury since Commagene had become a Roman province.

11. quoque: note the position; hence not the adverb, but the conjunction and connective.

12. octoginta: *sc. sestertia; 800,000 sesterces;* about $40,000.

14. ei: *i.e.* Caligula. **clipeus**: this was a shield emblazoned with the figure of the emperor; such a figure was also called *imago clipeata.* The custom of emblazoning shields with the portraits of one's ancestors, and using them as dedicatory offerings or for decorative purposes, is said to have originated with Appius Claudius (consul, 495 B.C.).

17. carmine modulato: it was a poem set to music and sung as a choral ode by the youths and maidens, much as the *carmen saeculare* of Horace must have been sung at the secular games given by Augustus.

19. Parilia: the 21st of April, a day sacred to Pales, goddess of shepherds; also the traditional anniversary of the founding of Rome. **velut argumentum**: *to indicate, as it were, that he was the second founder of the city.*

21. primum ex Kal. Iul.: from the 1st of July (37 A.D.), *i.e.* he was *consul suffectus; cf.* note on p. 17. 30. His colleague was Claudius; see note on p. 50. 4. Under Augustus, particularly during the latter portion of his reign, six months seems to have been the ordinary term for the consuls. The first of July would therefore be the time for the *consules suffecti* to begin their term. The practice was not maintained under Tiberius; but Caligula seems to have desired to follow the example set by Augustus, and hence he did not begin his term till July 3, although Tiberius had died the preceding March.

22. secundum ex Kal. Ian.: *i.e.* from January 1, 39 A.D., his colleague being L. Apronius Caesianus. **tertium usque in Idus Ian.**: *i.e.* from the 1st to the 13th of January, 40 A.D.

23. quartum usque septimum Idus easdem: *i.e.* January 1 to 7, 41 A.D., his colleague being Cn. Sentius Saturninus.

24. ex omnibus duos novissimos coniunxit: the apparent meaning is, that of these four terms he held the last two in successive years, *coniunxit* having the force of *continuavit.* If this interpretation be correct — and no other is convincing — we must believe Suetonius guilty of a slip, for by consulting the dates given above, it is obvious that Caligula held the last three terms in successive years.

25. Luguduni: the modern Lyons.

27. sub Kalendarum diem: *just before the Calends;* of January; *i.e.* he died while consul-elect.

28. congiarium: see note on p. 13. 24.

29. trecenos sestertios: about fifteen dollars each.

31. forensia: *sc. vestimenta; i.e.* togas, the out-of-door and formal dress.

32. fascias: the *fasciae* were bands of cloth used in various ways

as articles of apparel, — to bind around the breast, the legs either above or below the knee, the abdomen, and even the throat. **purpurae ac conchylii**: *purpura* was deep purple; *conchylium*, a diluted purple of lighter shade formed by mixing water or other dyes with *purpura*.

Page 52. **2. diem Saturnalibus**: we have seen (*cf.* note on p. 44. 31) that Tiberius extended this festival from one to three days. Whether the day here mentioned is the fourth or fifth added by Caligula, is not known, for Dio, lix. 6, says that Gaius made the time five days.

3. amphitheatro Tauri: see note on p. 5. 24.

4. Saeptis: see note on p. 12. 17. Dio, lix. 10, says that he even flooded the place and had a ship floated in.

9. multifariam: adverb, *in many places.*

11. missilia: these were presents thrown by the emperor to the people. Dio, lix. 9, represents him as scattering tickets and not the objects themselves, though this was often done: "At gymnastic games he scattered tickets among the people, and gave those who secured them the objects the names of which were written thereon." **obsonio**: this was any food used as a relish with bread, considered as the main article of diet. Fish was especially so used; sometimes fruit.

12. contra se: *i.e.* sitting opposite; see Introd. II. § 5 (2).

13. sed et: *and likewise.*

15. extra ordinem: *i.e.* before he had held the preliminary offices; see note on p. 7. 9. **circenses**: *sc. ludos.*

17. Africanarum: *sc. ferarum;* the name was especially applied to panthers, though it might signify lions, tigers, leopards, *etc.*, as well. **Troiae decursione**: the manœuvre known as *Troia*, for which see note on p. 5. 17.

18. minio: *cinnabar* or red lead; as a color, 'crimson.' **chrysocolla**: *borax;* as a color, 'copper-green.'

19. commisit et subitos: *sc. ludos; he even began some on the spur of the moment.*

20. Gelotiana: *sc. domo;* supposed, on the testimony of an inscription (*cf.* Gruter, *Insc.* 598, 7), to have been a home near the circus, built by one Gelotius and occupied by some of Caesar's slaves.

21. Maenianis: *Maeniana* originally meant balconies built in front of a house that faced a forum, as places from which to view the games; afterward the word came to mean balconies in general.

They received the name from Maenius, consul in 338 B.C.; *cf.* the word *mansard*, which is derived from the name of a French architect, *Mansard*.

23. Baiarum: this charming spot, on the bay of Naples, was famous for its magnificent country villas. **Puteoli**: modern *Pozzuoli;* about two miles from Baiae, famous as a summer resort and for its excellent harbor protected by a mole (*moles Puteolanae*).

24. trium milium: it will be remembered that a Roman mile is about 144 yards shorter than an English mile.

27. superiectoque aggere: though not so stated, the two lines of boats were probably connected by planks resting upon them. On these planks and the boats the embankment was thrown up, forming a road.

28. in Appiae Viae formam: see note on p. 39. 15. This road, passing close to Baiae and Puteoli, would naturally be the one with which the work was compared.

29. ultro citro: *back and forth;* asyndeton.

30. quercea corona: also called *corona civica;* see note on p. 17. 26. *Quercea* was Roth's conjecture for *quiercica* of the Memm. manuscript. It has since been found to be the reading of a thirteenth-century parchment manuscript in the British Museum. **caetra**: a small round Spanish shield of hide, like the target of the Scottish Highlanders.

32. curriculo biiugi: riding in a chariot drawn by two horses. **prae se ferens**: *exhibiting*.

Page 53. **2. essedis**: the *essedum* (sometimes *esseda, -ae*) was originally a Keltic war chariot. Being a light, convenient, two-wheeled vehicle, the Romans adopted it with some modifications, and used it for travelling and for purposes of pleasure. **cohorte**: *retinue*.

4. aliquanto: *i.e.* considerably. The strait, where bridged, was about an English mile across. This was the bridge which Xerxes built in 481 B.C., preparatory to invading Greece.

7. sed avum meum: one of the rare personal allusions in Suetonius. See Introd. I.

8. interioribus aulicis: *confidential courtiers*.

9. quod . . . affirmasset: this causal clause following *proditam* has a substantive force. **Thrasyllus**: see note on p. 10. 32.

10. verum nepotem: Tiberius, Drusus' own child.

12. discursurum: *run about*.

13. asticos ludos: see note on p. 5. 17.

14. Luguduni: see note on p. 51. 25. **miscellos**: *sc. ludos*, 'mixed games,' made up of various kinds of contests.

17. laudes: *i.e.* speeches in praise of them.

20. obiurgari: *obiurgare*, with the meaning 'to punish,' or 'strike,' is post-Augustan.

21. templum Augusti: see *Tib.* chap. 47. 16. Dio, lix. 7, says that Gaius, dressed in a triumphal robe, dedicated the temple; that hymns were sung by boys and girls of noble birth, and that a banquet was spread for the senators and their wives in honor of the occasion.

22. aquae ductum: this is the famous Claudian aqueduct, begun by Caligula, 38 A.D., and finished by Claudius, 52 A.D., and is the most perfectly preserved of these ancient structures. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 122, gives a good description of it. Its length was forty Roman miles, and its source at such an elevation that its water was raised to the summits of all the hills of the city; the cost of the aqueduct was about $17,500,000. Continuing, Pliny remarks: "If we take into consideration the abundant supply of water to the public for baths, ponds, canals, household purposes, gardens, places in the suburbs, and country houses, and then reflect upon the distances that are traversed, the arches that have been constructed, the mountains that have been pierced, the valleys that have been filled up, we must of necessity admit that there is nothing to be found more worthy of our admiration throughout the whole universe."

23. Tiburti: see note on p. 45. 29.

24. Saepta: see note on p. 12. 17. **quorum . . . alterum**: *i.e.* the amphitheatre.

27. Polycratis: tyrant of Samos. For his marvellous good fortune, *cf.* Herod. iii. 39 *seq.* He was betrayed and crucified, 522 B.C., by the satrap of Sardis.

28. Didymeum: a celebrated temple and oracle of Apollo, so named from the town of Didyma, in the territory of Miletus, near which it stood.

29. Isthmum . . . perfodere: the isthmus of Corinth. Julius Caesar had conceived this idea (*Iul.* 44), and Nero, too, essayed the task (*Nero*, chap. 19. 1), but it remained for modern engineering skill to accomplish the work.

30. primipilarem: *sc. centurionem.* A centurion of the *primus pilus* or first maniple of *triarii* was called a *primipilus*, or *centurio primipilaris.*

Page 54. **1. compluribus cognominibus adsumptis**: Dio, lix. 3, states that Caligula, who had hitherto been so modest that he had refused to accept the titles granted to the Caesars, suddenly became so haughty that in a single day he claimed all those titles which had been granted to Augustus only during a long course of years. The appellation *pater patriae* he did refuse, but not for long.

4. reges: these may have been Agrippa of Judaea and Antiochus of Commagene, who were, we are told by Dio, lix. 24, at the court of Caligula to teach him the art of ruling as an absolute monarch.

6. εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεύς: *Il.* ii. 204, *let there be one prince, one king;* words of Ulysses addressed to Agamemnon.

8. speciemque principatus in regni formam: *to change the pomp of the empire into that of a monarchy.* For the meaning of *principatus*, see note on p. 16. 3.

10. divinam ex eo maiestatem: Dio, lix. 26, relates that when Caligula, on account of an act of clemency, was hailed as a hero and a god, he was seized with a violent fit of insanity, and claimed divine honors. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 1, mentions Gaius' claim to divine honors as a proof of his insanity.

11. religione et arte praeclara: *famous for the reverence in which they were held and for their artistic value.*

12. Olympii Iovis: Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 1, states that this was the work of Phidias, and that Memmius Regulus was the one to whom the task of taking down the statue had been assigned. Dio, lix. 28, tells how the ship that had been constructed to transport the statue was struck by lightning, and how the workmen who approached the statue were terrified by derisive bursts of laughter, so that the attempt had to be abandoned.

13. quibus . . . imponeret: a relative clause of purpose.

14. aede Castoris et Pollucis: Dio, lix. 28: "He separated the temple of Castor and Pollux into two parts, that the entrance to his palace might be through this [*in vestibulum transfigurata*]; and he set up the statues of the twin gods that the sons of Jove and Leda might, in his own words, be his doorkeepers." For the temple of Castor and Pollux, see note on p. 13. 26.

16. medium: agreeing with *se*.

17. Latiarem Iovem: Dio, lix. 28: "He called himself Latian Jove, and appointed as his priests his wife Caesonia, together with Claudius, and other wealthy men, forcing them each to pay 10,000,000 sesterces for the honor." Juppiter Latiaris was the guardian of the Latin confederacy, and to him were dedicated the *feriae Latinae*.

19. excogitatissimas: see Introd. II. § 4, *a* (2).

20. simulacrum . . . iconicum: *a life-size statue.*

21. magisteria sacerdotii: *the office of chief director of his cult. Magisteria* is in the plural because of the plural idea conveyed by the expression *quisque . . . comparabant*, a case of *constructio ad sensum.* The *sacerdotium* was an office for life, but the position of *magister* was held in turn (*vicibus*) by the members.

22. ambitione et licitatione: *by political intrigue and by making the highest bids.*

24. tetraones: *woodcocks.* **numidicae meleagrides**: *guinea hens.*

25. generatim per singulos dies: *one kind each day.*

26. lunam invitabat: after one of these pretended meetings with Luna, Gaius asked Vitellius whether he had witnessed the interview. Vitellius, seemingly overcome with awe, said in a trembling voice, "To you gods alone, O Lord, is it permitted to see each other." This answer greatly flattered the emperor; Dio, lix. 27.

30. Ἤ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σέ: *Il.* xxiii. 724, *Throw me or I'll throw thee*; words addressed, in a wrestling bout, by Ajax to Ulysses. Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 20, represents Gaius as using these words when angry at Jove because of the thunder which interrupted his mimes and frightened him in the midst of his revels. Dio, lix. 28, states that Gaius had a machine constructed which could be made to thunder in answer to Jove's thunder, and emit flash for flash, and hurl stones for every bolt. On occasions of such contests, Gaius used the above quotation from Homer.

31. contubernium: see note on p. 11. 1.

32. templum Divi Augusti: for this temple, see note on p. 25. 15 end. An emperor, after deification, received the appellation *Divus.*

Page 55. **3. Agrippae**: this is the famous general and friend of Augustus; *cf.* note on p. 5. 27. Gaius was son of Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa by Julia. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 3, mentions Agrippas' obscure birth.

7. admisisset: on the force of this word, see note on p. 50. 19.

8. Actiacas Siculasque victorias: for the battle of Actium, see note on p. 5. 14. Caligula intended to disparage these victories as having been achieved by Agrippa.

10. sollemnibus: *customary.*

11. Ulixem stolatum: *a Ulysses in petticoats*; an astute observation, for the empress was a woman of keenness and something of a manager.

13. avo: ablative of origin. **decurione**: a member of the *ordo* or senate of a provincial town was known as a *decurio*. **Fundano**: *of Fundi*, for which see note on p. 4. 16.

14. monumentis: *records*. **Aufidium**: *i.e.* her grandfather. He was tribune of the plebs, 61 B.C.

16. ut interveniret Macro: a stipulative clause; *on condition that Macro be present*. See note on p. 10. 8.

17. ac per istius modi indignitates: Dio, lix. 3, states that Caligula behaved shamefully toward his grandmother and his sisters and that he drove the former to put an end to her life, because she had reproved him for some misconduct.

19. e triclinio: *i.e.* while reclining at table.

20. fratrem Tiberium: see note on p. 50. 6.

21. Silanum: see note on p. 47. 29. Dio, lix. 8, says that Gaius hated him because of his good qualities and the fact that he was closely related to him. Silanus, knowing that he was ridiculed by the emperor, committed suicide.

23. quod . . . non esset secutus: *on the ground that he* (*i.e.* Silanus) *had not followed him when putting out to sea in somewhat stormy weather*.

25. ille . . . oboluisset: *that there was the odor of an antidote about the former* (Tiberius).

26. cum et Silanus, *etc.*: *while in the one instance Silanus had been deterred by the fear of sea sickness, and by the discomfort of travelling by water*. Bentley's conjecture for this passage is *impatientia nauseae vitasset molestiam*. He considered that the *et* was a repetition, by mistake of the scribe, of the *et* in *vitasset*.

29. nam: *to be sure; nam* is here transitional, not explanatory.

30. in ludibrium reservavit: see *Claud.* chap. 8.

31. leve ac frigidum sit: *would be unnecessary and uninteresting; sit* is potential subjunctive.

Page 56. **1. Ptolemaeum**: Dio, lix. 25, relates that Gaius sent for Ptolemaeus, son of Juba, and on hearing of his wealth put him to death. Juba, a child at the time of the death of his father (also named Juba), king of Numidia, was taken to Rome by Julius Caesar, and there brought up. He became a man of great learning and wrote numerous works. By Augustus he was given the throne of Numidia, in place of which he afterward received that of Mauretania. He died in 19 A.D.

2. Selene: daughter of Mark Antony and Cleopatra and twin

sister of Alexander. She is everywhere else called Cleopatra, and was married to Juba, mentioned above.

3. **Enniam**: wife of Macro. See *Calig.* chap. 12. 5; *cf.* Dio, lix. 10: "Gaius, forgetting the love of Ennia and the benefits conferred upon him by Macro, although he had obtained much thereby, even empire itself, drove them to death."

6. **nihilo reverentior**, *etc.*: Dio, lix. 23, states that Gaius did not wish it to appear that the senate had any power to confer honors upon himself, and hence he treated that body with studied contempt.

7. **essedum**: see note on p. 53. 2.

8. **ad pluteum**: the *pluteus* was the board at the back of a bed or couch.

12. **consulibus**: Cn. Domitius Corbulo, *consul suffectus* for the year 39 A.D., and his colleague, whose name is not known.

13. **abrogavit magistratum**: Dio, lix. 20, does not mention the interregnum, but simply says that Caligula appointed Domitian consul, after having compelled the regular consuls to resign because they had not proclaimed holidays in honor of his birthday.

15. **quaestorem**: Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 18, in mentioning the incident, states that the quaestor's name was Betilienus Bassus.

17. **quo . . . insisterent**: Introd. II. § 6, *e*. **verberaturi**: Introd. II. § 4, *a* (1).

19. **de media nocte**: *at midnight.* The word *occupantium* indicates that they wished to be beforehand in securing desirable places.

23. **decimas**: it is not easy to explain the meaning of *decimas* in this passage. The *decima* was originally the tithe offered a deity. Afterward it would seem to have acquired the meaning of gift or offering to the people, and probably refers here to the *missilia*, mentioned in note on p. 52. 11. The meaning of the passage, then, is that Caligula, before the orders had taken their places in the theatre, began to distribute his gratuities. The mob took possession of the most advantageous places for securing them, which Caligula had arranged to be the places reserved for the *equites*.

26. **velis**: great canopies which served to protect the people in the amphitheatres from the rays of the sun and from the rain. The holes, with the stone supports beneath them, used to support the masts which held the canopies, may still be seen on a portion of the upper periphery of the Coliseum. We learn from Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 23, that the material was often linen, and that it was dyed brilliant hues; *cf.* Lucretius, iv. 75, and vi. 109. These canopies were usually handled by details of sailors from the fleet.

28. paegniariis: the text is difficult here. The reading is that of Roth (he gives the contracted form *paegniaris*, for *pegnares*, the reading of the Memmian manuscript). *Pegmares* is that of the Medicean 1st and 3d. The lacuna before *quoque* is to be filled by supplying *gladiatoribus*, or some word of similar meaning. *Paegnarius* (Gr. παίγνιον, 'plaything') means 'pertaining to play.' The passage apparently means: 'He turned wild beasts, all wasted away, against worthless gladiators worn out by age, and pitted against make-believe gladiators householders, respectable, but noted for some bodily defect.'

Page 57. **1. carius**: *at a rather high price.*

2. custodiarum seriem recognoscens: *reviewing the prisoners drawn up before him in a line;* for the word *custodiae*, see note on p. 34. 6.

3. elogio: the record of the case, or 'sentence.'

4. a calvo ad calvum: *i.e.* indiscriminately. Dio, lix. 22, attributes the expression to Nero. "Once seeing a crowd of captives, he ordered them put to death, using the proverb, 'from baldhead to baldhead.'"

5. duci: here used absolutely, as often, in the sense of 'lead to execution.' **votum exegit**: see note on p. 49. 14.

6. gladiatoriam operam promiserat: *had promised to fight as a gladiator.*

9. ea de causa: *i.e. pro salute;* on condition that the emperor be restored to health.

10. verbenatum infulatumque: *sc. eum; i.e.* crowned as a victim with sacred boughs and fillets. **vicos**: *streets;* see note on p. 41. 29.

11. agerent: *sc. pueri;* imperative in indirect discourse. **ex aggere**: *from the embankment.* Probably from the *agger Tarquinii*, which took the place of the wall of Servius Tullius in the northeastern part of the city, where the slope did not admit a wall; *cf.* Horace, *Ser.* i. 8. 15. Some understand the expression to mean from the Tarpeian rock, but there is nothing to justify such an interpretation.

12. stigmatum notis: *by branding them with hot irons.* **metalla**: see note on p. 26. 29.

13. munitiones viarum: see note on p. 19. 21. **ad bestias**: Dio, lix. 10, says that sometimes when criminals for the purpose were not forthcoming, Gaius would order mere spectators seized and thrown to the animals.

14. quadripedes . . . coercuit: *confined them in cages, on all fours.* **medios serra dissecuit**: *sawed in two.*

16. munere: *gladiatorial show.* **per genium suum deierassent**: *swear by his genius; i.e.* as though he were their guardian deity.

17. parentes supplicio filiorum: Dio, lix. 25, cites one instance. Caligula had ordered Cassius Betillinus put to death in the presence of his father, Capito. When the latter in irony asked if he might be allowed to wink, Caligula put him to death as well.

18. valetudinem excusanti: *asking to be excused because of ill health.*

19. statim adhibuit: Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. 33, gives the details. The father's name was Pastor, and he was a knight of distinction. The son, because of his neat personal appearance, had aroused the jealousy of the emperor.

22. catenis: *with chains.*

23. Atellanae: for the *Atellanae*, see note on p. 41. 18.

24. amphitheatri: the amphitheatre of Taurus; see note on p. 5. 24. **harena**: see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (2).

31. circum insulas: *to the different islands.* Philo states that this slaughter was perpetrated by Gaius.

32. cum discerpi senatorem, *etc.*: the senator's name was Scribonius Proculus. Dio's account (lix. 26) is slightly different. Protogenes, one of Gaius' favorites, on entering the senate and being surrounded by the fawning senators, pointed to Scribonius and asked how that man, hating the emperor as he did, dared to approach. Thereupon the senators fell upon their associate and tore him limb from limb.

Page 58. **2. graphiisque**: the *graphium*, also called *stilus*, was an iron pencil ground to a sharp point at one end, and flat at the other, for the purpose of smoothing out the wax if it was desired to erase what had been written. Julius Caesar used his *graphium* to defend himself when set upon by the assassins; see *Jul.* 82.

4. membra et artus: the two words, as often, are joined for the sake of emphasis; *membra* are the members or limbs; *artus* (lit. 'joints'), if distinguished from *membra*, are the large-jointed limbs.

7. ἀδιατρεψίαν: *barefaced impudence;* the word also conveys the idea of obstinacy.

8. hoc est inverecundiam: a gloss. **monenti Antoniae,** *etc.: when reproved by his aunt, as though it were not enough to disobey her, he added, "Remember that I may do all things and to all*

people." *Monenti* is used absolutely; *omnia* is subject of *licere*, a rare construction; *cf.* Sen. *De Clem.* i. 18, *cum in servum omnia liceant.*

10. trucidaturus: Introd. II. § 4, *a.*

11. praemuniri medicamentis, *etc.*: *Calig.* chap. 23. 29.

12. antidotum, *etc.*: accusative of exclamation. The idea is, 'What! Can you take an antidote to preserve you from Caesar?'

14. Anticy̆rae: a city of Phocis, famous for its hellebore, which was supposed to be helpful in cases of mental disorder. There seems, on the testimony of Strabo, to have been a sort of sanitarium there. Anticyra is upon a peninsula, and is not an island as sometimes stated.

16. saepius desiderantem: *i.e.* repeatedly expressing the wish.

18. quoque: from *quisque.*

19. ex custodia: lit. 'from prison.' This is a post-Augustan use of the word, with which *cf.* the use of the plural *custodiae;* see note on p. 34. 6. Render, 'the number of prisoners to be executed.' **rationem se purgare**: *that he was clearing his accounts.*

21. Gallograeciam: lit. 'Galatia,' but used in a punning way as the country of the Gauls and Greeks mentioned above. **non temere**, *etc.*: *he was unwilling to have the death penalty inflicted upon any one except in a manner calculated to prolong the agony, and his invariable order was, etc.*

27. oderint, dum metuant: a line from Accius' tragedy *Atreus.* Seneca and Dio corroborate Suetonius in attributing this saying to Gaius. It is sometimes referred to Nero; cf. Tiberius' saying, *Tib.* chap. 59. 15.

29. prolatis libellis: see *Calig.* chap. 15. 18.

Page 59. **1. proscidit**: *reviled; cf.* the expression, 'tear a character to shreds.' **faventi**: *applauding.*

2. adversus studium suum: Caligula was an ardent supporter of the green faction of the circus; *cf. Calig.* chap. 55. 28. **utinam populus Romanus**, *etc.*: after enumerating several causes of resentment, the last of which was, that the people had saluted him as "young Augustus," Dio, lix. 13, remarks: "Gaius once said in threatening tones to the populace, 'Would that you had but one neck!' — and in fact he always treated them as though they had."

3. Tetrinius: nothing further is known of this robber.

4. Tetrinios: *i.e.* as bad as Tetrinius. **Retiarii**: these gladiators were provided with a net (*rete*) which they endeavored to throw over the head of their opponent. If entangled, he could be easily

despatched with the trident (*fuscina*) with which the *retiarius* was armed. The opponent was armed with shield, helm, and sword, and was called a *mirmillo* (from the image of a fish upon his crest), or *secutor*, perhaps because he pursued the *retiarius* when the latter made a false throw with his net.

9. spectare sustinuissent: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1). An infinitive following *sustinere* without a negative is quite rare.

12. clade Variana: see note on p. 12. 6.

20. quaestiones per tormenta: *legal examinations under torture.* When referring to the testimony taken from slaves, *quaestio* has this meaning without the addition of any word meaning torture, because, according to Roman law, such testimony could be taken only under torture.

21. decollandi artifex: *an adept at beheading.* **e custodia**: see note on p. 58. 19.

22. dedicatione pontis: see *Calig.* chap. 19. 25 and note.

27. laminam: these *laminae* were thin pieces of silver used in inlaying the frames of the dining couches.

28. praecedente titulo: Dio, liv. 3, tells of Augustus having a criminal led through the Forum bearing a placard indicating the cause of his punishment.

30. murmillonem: see note on p. 59. 4. **e ludo**: *of the training quarters*; see Introd. II. § 5 (2).

Page 60. **1. poparum**: the *popa* was the assistant who led the victim to the altar and felled it with an axe. The *cultrarius* cut its throat.

2. lautiore convivio: *at a sumptuous banquet*; see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (2).

6. Apellen: a native of Ascalon, a town in the south of Palestine. Apelles was the chief tragic poet of the time of Caligula and lived on intimate terms with that emperor.

9. quasi: note the use of *quasi* with an adjective or participle taking the place of a causal clause, and *cf.* the usage mentioned in Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

10. amiculae: *mistress*; Introd. II. § 1, *c*. The diminutive is one of affection.

12. fidiculis: some kind of an instrument of torture made of cords. A post-Augustan use of the word. **Caesonia**: Caesonia Milonia, the favorite wife of Gaius. He married her after repudiating Lollia.

15. paene adversus omnis aevi, *etc.*: *he assailed mankind of almost every epoch.* Graevius conjectured *omne* to be supplied before *omnis*, and this Madvig deems necessary to the sense. *Hominum genus* seems to be good Latin, however, to render the above thought.

19. atque disiecit: *and scattered the fragments.*

20. vetuitque, *etc.*: Dio, lx. 25, states that Claudius also forbade statues erected except by order of the senate, for the reason that the city was already crowded with those that had been erected indiscriminately.

21. nisi consulto et auctore se: Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

23. qui eum e civitate: *i.e.* from his ideal state. Plato, in his *Republic*, does not, in so many words, forbid the reading of Homer. He does, however, express his disapproval of much that Homer teaches. Cicero, *De Republica*, iv. 5. 5, however, uses this expression: *ego vero eodem, quo ille Homerum redimitum coronis et delibutum unguentis emittit ex ea urbe, quam sibi ipse fingit.*

24. Titi Livi: the famous historian.

26. minimaeque doctrinae: an unjust criticism, for it is in his antiquarian knowledge that Vergil excels.

27. neglegentem: in fact, this is Livy's chief fault, due to his erroneous conception of the duty of an historian.

29. se mehercule effecturum, *etc.*: *that he, in faith, would see to it that they could give no legal advice contrary to his wish*; lit. 'contrary to' or 'disregarding him.' *Ipsum* would be more common; *se* could not be used, as it would refer to the subject of *possint*. *Respondere* has its technical meaning of 'give legal advice as a *jurisconsult*.' Note the use of *mehercule* in an indirect quotation.

32. Torquato torquem: how the founder of the line, Manlius, slew a mighty Gaul in single combat, and took his collar (*torquis*) of gold, and in consequence received the title Torquatus, is told by Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, quoted by Aulus Gellius, ix. 13. **Cincinnato**: the word means 'one with curly hair' (*cincinnus*). The Lucius Quinctius who first bore the cognomen is mentioned by Livy, iii. 12. How Gaius deprived the Cincinnati of their distinctive mark we are left to conjecture. **Cn. Pompeio stirpis antiquae**, *etc.*: *and from Gnaeus Pompey of ancient lineage, the surname of the Great*; *i.e.* a name hereditary and of long standing in the family. Dio, lx. 5, represents Gaius as saying on this occasion that it was not safe for any one to bear that title. Dio also remarks that but for the youth of Pompey, the title would have been the cause of his death.

Page 61. **1. Ptolemaeum**: see note on p. 56. 1.

4. munus: see note on p. 57. 16. **spectacula**: *the amphitheatre;* lit. 'the seats,' or places allotted the spectators, as below, line 9.

5. abollae: a mantle of stout texture, of which little is known.

6. quotiens . . . occurrerent: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3). **occipitio**: see note on p. 37. 23.

8. Colosseros: the word signifies large and handsome, κολοσσός and perhaps ἔρως.

9. spectaculis detractum: *dragged from the seat;* see above, note on line 4.

10. Thraeci: *i.e.* a gladiator armed as a Thracian, with light circular buckler and short curved sword; see note on p. 59. 4. **hoplomăcho**: ὁπλομάχος; a gladiator clad in a complete suit of mail, like those who fought in the front rank of a Grecian phalanx.

12. vicatim: *through the streets.* Introd. II. § 1, *b*.

14. cuius non commodis obtrectaret: *whose merit he did not belittle.*

15. Nemorensi regi: the *rex Nemorensis*, or priest of Diana of the forest, whose temple stood deeply buried in the woods at the foot of the Alban mountain, held this office by reason of his prowess. The only way to gain the position was to slay the incumbent. Strabo, v. 3, 4, in the course of his description, says: "They appoint as priest a fugitive, who has with his own hand murdered the preceding priest. Apprehensive of an attack, the priest is always armed with a sword, ready for resistance." Before the grove in which the temple stood, there is a deep lake of considerable size, now called the lake of Nemi. In this there have been discovered the remains of two huge and magnificently equipped galleys dating from the reign of Caligula, probably used in some way in the service of this Diana.

17. essedario: a gladiator who fought from the *essedum*, or Keltic war chariot.

21. populum, *etc.*: the accusative is one of exclamation; hence we have *tribuentem* agreeing with it, instead of having a declarative sentence with the verb in the infinitive.

22. consecratis principibus . . . sibi: *i.e.* to princes dead and deified and to himself still among them (*praesenti*).

24. nepotatus sumptibus omnium: *in extravagant expenditure he outdid all who were noted for prodigality. Nepotatus* is genitive case; *cf.* Seneca, *Ad Helv. matrem*, 10: "Gaius Caesar, whom in my opinion Nature produced in order to show what unlimited vice would be capable of when combined with unlimited power, dined one day at

the cost of 10,000,000 sesterces, and though in this he had the assistance of the ingenuity of all, yet he could hardly find ways to make one dinner consume the tribute of three provinces."

25. portentosissima: *most unnatural;* examples are given below in the dissolved pearl and golden loaves.

28. ex auro panes, *etc.: loaves and relishes made of gold.* For *obsonium*, see note on p. 52. 11.

29. frugi: the indeclinable adjective modifying *hominem.*

31. basilicae Iuliae: this structure at the south side of the Forum was begun by Julius Caesar in his third year as dictator and was completed by Augustus. It served as the chief law court of Rome. The foundation and floor are in a fair state of preservation.

Page 62. **1. sparsit in plebem**: Dio, lix. 25, does not mention the *basilica,* but simply says that Gaius threw down from a lofty place a large amount of gold and silver, and that many were killed in the scramble for it. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 13, says that Gaius took delight in watching the people fight for the gifts which he scattered among them; these were generally flowers and rare birds. **decēris Liburnicas**: galleys with ten banks of oars. The *Liburnica* or *Liburna* (*sc. navis*) was a long, light war galley, usually with but two banks of oars, the model of which was taken from the Liburnians, a piratical tribe of Dalmatia; hence the name.

2. magna . . . laxitate: *with a great expanse, etc.*

5. discumbens de die: *i.e.* before the proper time for the *cena,* which was late afternoon. Such feasts served at an inappropriately early hour were termed *tempestivae;* see note on p. 66. 25.

6. praetoriorum: see note on p. 23. 26.

8. iactae itaque moles: this building of marine villas, as an evidence of discontent and extravagance, had already been criticised by Horace; *cf. Od.* iii. 1. 33: —

Contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
Iactis in altum molibus: huc frequens
Caementa demittit redemptor
Cum famulis dominusque terrae
Fastidiosus.

10. aggere: *i.e.* by filling in.

11. fossuris montium: *by levelling mountains.* **quidem**: *and that too.*

12. capite: *life.*

14. vicies et septies milies: *2,700,000,000 sesterces;* approximately $135,000,000. Dio, lix. 2, states that some give the amount spent as 3,300,000,000 sesterces. **non toto vertente anno**: *in less than a year.* Dio, lix. 2, says that he had not a farthing left in nine months.

16. exhaustus igitur, *etc.*: *cf.* Dio, lix. 4, "As he squandered his money in the most lavish fashion, so he collected it by the basest methods."

17. exquisitissimo: *very cunningly conceived.*

22. diplomata: the papers conferring citizenship.

23. ut vetera et obsoleta deflebat: *he used to deplore the fact that they were old and out of date.*

24. postea: *i.e.* after the statement of their rating.

27. ut ingrata: *as displaying ingratitude.* **item ceterorum**, *etc.*: *he also destroyed, as null and void, the wills of all people who were said, by any one whomsoever, to have intended on their death to leave Caesar their heir.* *Cf.* Dio, lix. 15, where he says that Gaius compelled all who had previously signified their intention of leaving legacies to Tiberius, to make over the same to himself.

29. quo metu: according to the Latin idiom, *quo* agrees with *metu;* it refers logically, however, to the nullification of the wills mentioned above.

32. venenatas matteas: *poisoned delicacies.*

Page 63. **1. cognoscebat autem**, *etc.*: *moreover, he used to preside at such cases, first fixing the amount that he intended to raise at that particular sitting, and as soon as this sum was made up, leaving the bench.*

3. excitabatur: the passive has here the force of the middle voice. In the active it means 'call from one's seat.' Note the asyndeton, *taxato . . . confecto.* Madvig believes that *et* has fallen out after the last syllable of *consideret* and would supply it. The asyndeton does not, however, seem harsh. **ne paululum quidem**: *not in the least.*

4. morae: to be construed as genitive with *patiens.*

6. Caesonia: see note on p. 60. 12.

7. meridiaret: it was a common custom with the Romans, as with the modern Italians, to take a midday nap.

8. reliquias omnium spectaculorum: Suetonius not only means the equipment, but the gladiators who were left over as well. This is clearly indicated by Dio, lix. 14, "He sold at an exorbitant price the gladiators who were left over."

9. subiecit: *he brought under the auctioneer's hammer.*

14. nec licendi finem factum: *and that the bidding did not cease; licendi* from *liceor.*

15. sestertium nonagies: about $450,000. Treat *nonagies* as an indeclinable noun in the ablative. See note on p. 25. 27. *Sestertio*, the reading of Roth, is a conjecture of Ernesti.

19. quidquid instrumenti veteris aulae: *all the paraphernalia of the old court; i.e.* of the court of Augustus and Tiberius. To enhance the value of these articles as they were offered for sale, Gaius would remark (Dio lix. 21): "This article belonged to my father; this to my mother; this to my grandfather; this to my great-grandfather. Antony used this in Egypt; this was given Augustus for a victory won."

21. pistrinensibus iumentis: *i.e.* the horses and mules employed by the millers to turn the millstones. The millers were bakers as well, for the two trades were combined in Rome.

22. saepe: Becker suspects this word of being a gloss; if not a gloss, he would substitute *paene.*

24. causa caderent: *lost their cases. Causa* is ablative of separation. **cui instrumento distrahendo**: *in order to dispose of the paraphernalia, he employed every kind of deception and enticement. Distrahere* strictly means 'to sell piecemeal.'

27. quod . . . privatis copiam faceret: *because he was allowing private citizens to acquire, etc.*

29. ducenta sestertia: about $10,000.

30. vocatoribus: the slaves who delivered Caesar's invitations. **interponeretur**: *might secure a place at.*

32. in auctione: *i.e.* at the sale of the above-mentioned articles.

Page 64. **1. ducentis milibus**: used instead of *ducentis sestertiis* (see note on p. 63. 29) to avoid ambiguity. The latter might mean 200 sesterces apiece, instead of 200,000 sesterces.

3. vectigalia nova: Dio, lix. 28, says that he will pass over in silence the sales, the dives, the lawsuits, the workmen and slaves, all employed to swell the income of Gaius, but he cannot forbear mentioning the brothel established on the Palatine for the same purpose.

8. certum statumque: *sc. tributum.*

9. ubicumque conceptis: *before whatever court.* **quadragesima**: *sc. pars.*

10. composuisse vel donasse: *settle their cases or abandon them. Donare* means, literally, to make a gift of the case to the adversary.

11. ex gerulorum, *etc.*: *from the daily earnings of porters.*

13. neque propositis: *i.e.* a statement of the law was not posted in a public place. **scripturae**: *i.e.* of the details of the law.

16. uti ne cui, *etc.*: *so that no one could copy it.* Dio, lix. 28, makes the same statement with regard to the posting of this law. **ne quod non**: equivalent to *ut omne.* **manubiarum**: in the general sense of 'unlawful gain.'

17. lupanar in Palatio: see Dio's statement above, note on line 3.

19. circum fora, *etc.*: on the force of the preposition, see note on p. 57. 31.

23. quasi adiuvantium: *as those who were adding to Caesar's revenues.* On force of *quasi*, see note on p. 60. 9.

24. compendium: *profit.*

26. demandata vice: *intrusting his play.* Dio, lix. 28, tells a somewhat similar story of Caligula when in Gaul: "Once, while gambling, on seeing that his money had given out, he called for a statement of the rating of the Gauls. He ordered the richest of them put to death, and on returning to the gambling table, remarked that those present were playing for small stakes, for he had just raked in about 60,000,000 sesterces."

Page 65. **2. plenis ante eum manibus,** *etc.*: *which all classes poured out before him by handfuls and lapfuls.*

5. aureorum: the *aureus*, or *denarius aureus*, the principal gold coin of the empire, was worth about $5.

7. volutatus est: so Dio, lix. 28. The testimony of Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii. 79, as to the greed of Gaius may also be adduced. In speaking of orpiment, a mineral of Syria, he remarks: "This substance greatly excited the hopes of the emperor Gaius, a prince most greedy for gold. He accordingly had a large quantity of it melted, and really did obtain some excellent gold, but the proportion was so small that he lost by the operation."

8. ex destinato: *in pursuance of a definite plan;* an adverbial phrase.

9. nemus flumenque Clitumni: at the source of the river Clitumnus, in Umbria, there was a temple dedicated to Jupiter Clitumnus. That the temple and river were well worth a visit is vouched for by Pliny the Younger (*Epist.* viii. 8), who describes the locality.

11. Batavorum: a tribe who inhabited what is now a part of Holland, especially the island known as *insula Batavorum.* They were noted for bravery and for their excellent cavalry. After sub-

jugation by Germanicus, they served the Romans well, and were exempted from paying tribute and taxes. They revolted in the time of Vespasian but were again subjugated by Trajan and Hadrian.

12. expeditionis Germanicae: Dio, lix. 21, mentions this merely in connection with Gaius' plundering expedition into Gaul. He states that Gaius went there under pretext of subduing the hostile Germans, who were, as he said, engaged in an uprising.

19. octaphoro: the *octaphoron* was a litter carried by eight bearers.

25. plerisque . . . maturis: *i.e.* their term of service, twenty years, being at an end.

26. consummaturi: *sc. stipendia.* **primos pilos ademit**: *deprived of the command of the first maniple of triarii.* See note on p. 53. 30.

28. commoda emeritae militiae: *rewards due those who had completed their term of service.*

29. ad sescentorum milium, *etc.: 600,000 sesterces.* This amount can hardly be correctly stated. On the authority of Dio, lv. 23, it is known that Augustus fixed the reward for the completion of the twenty years' service at 12,000 sesterces. Lipsius amended so as to read *ad sex milium*, making Gaius reduce the amount just one-half.

30. Adminio . . . recepto: an ablative absolute following the expression, *nihil autem amplius quam.* An ablative absolute is rarely accompanied by a connective. Of connectives so used, *nisi* is most common; *cf.* Introd. II. §6, *b* (1). **Cynobellini**: this king's capitol was Camalodunum (Colchester). He had two other sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus.

32. universa tradita insula: ablative absolute. Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

Page 66. **1. speculatoribus**: these were a body of soldiers used as scouts. The *speculatores*, especially those connected with the praetorian cohorts, were often detailed for special duties, such as conveying messages, and acting as a special bodyguard of the emperor.

3. in aede Martis: *i.e.* the temple of Mars Ultor, vowed by Augustus during the battle of Philippi, built in the Forum Augusti, and consecrated, 2 A.D. There are some portions of this still remaining, particularly three beautiful Corinthian columns.

5. mox: see note on p. 15. 21. **de custodia**: see note on p. 58. 19.

7. prandium: this meal, taken about midday, corresponds to the continental second breakfast. The light meal taken on rising was

termed *ientaculum;* while dinner, *cena*, was served in the afternoon or early evening.

10. et in modum tropaeorum adornatis: *and adorning them to serve as trophies.* **ad lumina reversus**: *returning by torchlight.*

13. distinctas solis, *etc.: adorned with figures of the sun, moon, and stars.*

14. exploratorias: *i.e.* given as badges of honor to scouts who had discovered the foe.

15. litterario ludo: the adjective is added to show that a gladiatorial training school is not meant.

18. mimo: *farce.*

21. durarent secundisque: *Aen.* i. 207.

23. inter haec: *meanwhile.*

25. tempestiva: *i.e.* begun at an hour so early as to be unseemly. Late afternoon or evening was the appropriate time.

26. celebrarent: *were devoting themselves to.*

29. ut conchas legerent: Dio, lix. 25, tells the same story.

30. sinus: *the folds of their cloaks.*

31. Capitolio Palatioque: to the Capitol as the seat of Roman dominion and to the Palatine as the abode of royalty.

32. Pharo: see note on p. 40. 30.

Page 67. **2. centenis viritim denariis**: about $20. *Viritim* with the distributive numeral adjective is tautological.

6. Galliarum: see note on p. 24. 16.

7. ἀξιοθριάμβευτον: *worthy to grace a triumph.*

9. rutilare: *to color the hair auburn.* Light hair was one of the physical characteristics of the Germans. *Cf.* Tac. *Ger.* 4, *habitus quoque corporum quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus, truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, etc.*

10. addiscere: the prefix conveys the idea of learning another tongue in addition to their own.

13. procuratoribus: the imperial financial agents.

17. priusquam . . . decederet: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

19. seditionem olim moverant: *cf. Tib.* chap. 25. 26, and *Calig.* chaps. 1. 9, and 9. 30.

22. inhiberi: *inhibeo* with the force of *prohibeo* is not found in prose before the Augustan period.

25. sed cum videret, *etc.:* Dio, lix. 22, states that Gaius killed many of his soldiers, both singly and in companies. Whether he refers to this occasion is not apparent.

27. profugit contionem: *profugio* with accusative is post-Augustan.

28. deflexa omni acerbitate in senatum: Dio, lix. 25, states that as soon as he reached the city he seriously considered putting the whole senate to death because they had not decreed divine honors to him. Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 19. 2, also states that Caligula had conceived the idea of slaughtering the whole senate.

32. denuntiasset: Dio, lix. 23, relates that Gaius was angry because Claudius was one of those appointed to report to him the honors conferred by the senate. As a result, he forbade such honors conferred in the future.

Page 68. **1. amplissimi ordinis**: *i.e.* of the senatorial order.

7. ovans: see note on p. 1. 15.

8. natali suo: see note on p. 45. 14.

9. siquidem: *since.*

10. Antium: see note on p. 23. 10.

12. in secretis: *among his private papers.*

13. duo libelli, *etc.*: according to Dio, lix. 26, one Protogenes, abettor of Gaius in all atrocious acts, used to carry about note-books having these titles.

16. a Claudio demersis: Dio, lx. 4, states that the large quantity of poison found in Gaius' desk was burned by Claudius, together with the letters that Gaius had pretended to burn.

19. expallido: *exceedingly pale*; a post-Augustan word. **corpore enormi**: *misshapen.* Seneca, *De Const. Sapientis* 18, gives a description of Gaius' appearance: "He himself was a most tempting object of derision, so ugly was the paleness which proved him mad, so savage the glare of the eyes which lurked under his old woman's brow, so hideous his misshapen head, bald and dotted about with a few cherished hairs, besides his neck set thick with bristles, his thin legs, his monstrous feet."

21. torva: *scowling.*

22. hirsutus cetera: *the rest of his body hairy.*

23. ex superiore parte: *i.e.* so as to look down upon his head.

24. capram nominare: *i.e.* as reflecting upon his own hairy person. **criminosum**: *slanderous.*

26. componens ad speculum, *etc.*: *standing before a mirror and practising grimaces calculated to inspire horror and fright.*

28. valetudo ei, *etc.*: *he possessed neither a strong body nor a sound mind.*

29. **comitiali morbo**: *epilepsy*, so named because when a person was stricken by an attack of this kind, the meetings of the *comitia* were dissolved as by an evil omen. **ita patiens laborum**, *etc.*: *though he could endure hardships, yet sudden faintness would sometimes overtake him, leaving him incapable of walking, standing, concentrating his thoughts, or making any effort.*

32. **valetudinem**: *feebleness; valetudo* is a *vox media* and may mean either good health or poor health, according to the context.

Page 69. 2. **creditur potionatus**, *etc.*: Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 2. 4, states that many attributed the madness of Gaius to this cause. **Caesonia**: see note on p. 60. 12.

4. **tribus nocturnis horis**: see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (1).

12. **attribuerim**: potential subjunctive in modest statement. There is no appreciable difference in meaning between the present and perfect tense in this construction.

16. **ad vero maiora**: *cf.* Tiberius' fear of lightning, chap. 69. 9. Roth, with Med. 3d, reads *at vero maiore.* The reading of the Memm. manuscript is *ad vero maiore.* Paris 6116 and eight other manuscripts read *ad vero maiora*, and Madvig seems justified in preferring this.

19. **Messana**: modern Messina. A celebrated city of Sicily situated upon the strait of the same name, which is at this point about four miles wide.

20. **adversus barbaros quoque minacissimus**: Tacitus, *Ger.* 37, speaks of the mighty threats of Gaius, *mox ingentes Gai Caesaris minae in ludibrium versae.*

22. **essedo**: see note on p. 53. 2.

23. **ilico**: *immediately.* This word is especially frequent in colloquial style.

24. **calonibus**: *camp servants.*

27. **subsidia fugae**: *as a means of flight.*

28. **uno solacio adquiescens**: *consoling himself with one comforting thought.* For the construction of *solacio*, see note on p. 19. 17 end.

30. **Cimbri**: the German tribe that invaded Italy, 102 B.C. **Senones**: the tribe of Gauls who burned Rome, 390 B.C.

Page 70. 4. **denique humano**: *ac* joins closely with the preceding phrase, hence *humano* is also modified by *ne . . . quidem.*

5. **depictas**: *embroidered. Depictus* for *pictus* is post-Augustan.

6. indutus: passive participle used with middle force, hence the object. **paenulas**: the *paenula* was a woollen cloak ordinarily worn in travelling and in inclement weather. **manuleatus**: *wearing long sleeves.* This was deemed effeminate by the Romans. The word is ante-classical and post-Augustan. *Manicatus* is the classical word.

7. cycladatus: clothed in a Greek *cyclas*, or state robe for women.

8. crepidis: see note on p. 9. 27. **cothurnis**: the high boot worn on the tragic stage. **speculatoria**: *i.e.* such as those worn by the *speculatores*, on whom see note on p. 66. 1. **caliga**: for meaning, see note on p. 46. 25.

9. aurea barba: *i.e.* he had a beard made of gold, which he fitted to his face.

10. fulmen: an attribute of Jove, as the *fuscina* was of Neptune, and the *caduceus* of Mercury. **deorum insignia**: these words are probably a gloss, as suggested by Becker.

11. Veneris cultu: he often personified Juno and Diana as well; *cf.* Dio, lix. 26. **triumphalem . . . ornatum**: for the *triumphalia ornamenta*, see note on p. 7. 6.

14. e conditorio eius: Augustus had viewed the body lying in its glass coffin at Alexandria; *cf. Aug.* 18. The original gold coffin had been removed about 118 B.C. Dio, li. 16, states that Augustus not only viewed, but touched, the body, and in so doing broke off a piece of the nose.

15. ex disciplinis liberalibus: *of the liberal branches*; see note on p. 38. 13. *Disciplinae* is parallel to *artes* in this expression.

16. plurimum attendit: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 3, speaking of the oratorical ability of the different emperors, remarks, *etiam Gai Caesaris turbata mens vim dicendi non corrupit.* Dio, lix. 19, tells how the emperor, desirous of surpassing all in oratory, would have put Domitius Afer to death through jealousy of his ability, had it not been for Afer's cunning in pretending to be struck dumb with admiration at Gaius' power as an orator. Seneca, too, ran the same risk. **quantumvis facundus et promptus**: *being very fluent and ready indeed.*

17. perorandum: *peroro* is used in the general sense of 'plead in a set speech,' and is especially applied to a speech of accusation.

20. prae ardore: see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

21. stricturum se lucubrationis, *etc.*: *i.e.* would deliver the speech in the preparation of which he had burned the midnight oil.

23. Senecam: the famous writer, philosopher, and tutor of Nero;

cf. Nero, chap. 7. 9. **commissiones meras**: *nothing but prize declamations.*

24. harenam esse sine calce: *i.e.* loose and disconnected. The expression ridicules the epigrammatic style of Seneca with its omission of connectives.

25. rescribere: *write replies to.*

26. accusationes defensionesque, *etc.*: *i.e.* he composed and studied speeches *pro* and *con*, and then delivered the speech which appealed to him as most effective.

27. onerare sententia . . . sublevare: *i.e.* by speaking for or against.

31. Thraex et auriga, *etc.*: Dio, lix. 5, says that Gaius was ruled by the charioteers, and was a slave to actors. At first a spectator, he afterward drove a chariot, contended as a gladiator, and danced or acted in tragedies. Once, late at night, he summoned the leading men of the senate as if on important business, and then danced in their presence. On *Thraex*, see note on p. 61. 10.

32. battuebat pugnatoriis armis: *i.e.* he fought with sharp weapons, not foils.

Page 71. **1. plurifariam**: *in many places.*

5. palam effingeret: *openly imitated.*

7. ut . . . auspicaretur: *that the freedom of the time might afford an auspicious moment for appearing upon the stage.*

11. dein repente: Roth, with the Memm. manuscript, reads *deinde repente*, but the weight of manuscript authority is for the reading of the text. **scabellorum**: the precise nature of the *scabellum* is not known. It was probably a wooden shoe provided with bells or bangles and used to beat time as an accompaniment to other instruments.

12. desaltato cantico: *having finished dancing the lyric scene*; *cf.* Dio's remarks, note on p. 70. 31.

16. Mnesterem: this famous pantomimist had been a freedman of Tiberius. Many stories are told of his arrogance and profligacy, and of the passion of Gaius and Messalina for him. On the downfall of the latter, he was put to death, in the reign of Claudius.

20. abiret: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (6).

21. Ptolemaeum: see note on p. 56. 1.

22. suos: *i.e.* Caligula's, referring to the subject of *denuntiavit.* **istoc**: *to you*; adverb.

23. Thraeces: see note on p. 61. 10.

24. Murmillonum: see note on p. 59. 4.

25. recidit: because he favored their opponents, the *Thraeces.*

26. venenum: Dio, lix. 14, states that he poisoned the most distinguished drivers of the opposite factions.

28. prasinae factioni: according to Dio, lix. 14, this was Gaius' favorite party. The drivers of the different chariots were distinguished by the color of their garments. Hence, from the zeal with which different people espoused the cause of the different colors, there arose four parties or factions, named respectively, *factio albata* (white), *prasina* (green), *rosata* (red), and *veneta* (blue). When Domitian instituted the practice of starting six, instead of four, chariots at once, two new factions were added, *factio aurata* (golden) and *purpura* (purple), but these were not long kept up. There were frequent riots and encounters between these various factions, the worst of which occurred at Constantinople in 532 A.D. (the Nicé rebellion), in which thirty thousand are said to have perished.

29. agitatori Eutycho: mentioned by Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 4. 4, as a driver of the green faction, very devoted to Gaius, and an oppressor of the soldiery, whom he had compelled to perform degrading labor on the stables of Nero.

30. apophoretis: the apophoreta were gifts distributed to the guests at a banquet, as souvenirs. **vicies sestertium**: about $100,000.

31. Incitato: a proper name, *Flyer.* Dio, lix. 14, tells almost the same story about this horse, and affirms that Gaius would indeed have appointed it consul, had he not been murdered so soon after.

Page 72. **1. equile**: *a stable* for horses. **praesepe eburneum**: *an ivory manger.*

3. familiam: *a retinue of servants.*

6. bacchantem atque grassantem: *pursuing his insane and cruel course.*

7. una alteraque conspiratione: Aemilius Lepidus, brother-in-law of Gaius, was involved in one conspiracy. Niceus Cerealis is known to have betrayed one to Gaius. The conspiracy, originated in 39 A.D. by Gaetulicus, legatus of upper Germany, is mentioned by Suetonius in the *Life of Claudius*; *cf.* note on p. 81. 30.

9. duo: Cassius Chaerea and Cornelius Sabinus.

12. in quadam coniuratione: *i.e.* in the conspiracy of Cerealis.

14. nam et statim seductis, *etc.*: *and with reason, for he immediately set them aside and cast great odium upon them by drawing his sword, etc.*

17. inter se omnis committere: *setting them one against the other.*

18. cum placuisset . . . adgredi: when it was decided to attack him. **Palatinis ludis**: games of three days' duration, instituted by Livia in honor of Augustus; *cf.* Dio, lvi. 46.

19. Cassius Chaerea, *etc.*: for a full account of the conspiracy, see Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 3–14, who states that there were three parties planning the assassination: one led by Aemilius Regulus, another by Cassius Chaerea, and the third by Annius Minucianus.

21. effeminatum: Sen. *De Const. Sapientis*, 18, states that Chaerea's voice was suspiciously light.

22. Priapum aut Venerem: the male and female divinities of procreation.

28. tantum cachinnum, *etc.*: *cf.* note on p. 54. 12.

29. machinis: the derricks, *etc.*, to be used in taking down the statue.

30. ilico: *just then.*

31. Capitolium Capuae: dedicated by Tiberius; see *Tib.* chap. 40. 30.

32. Id. Mar.: *Idibus Martiis*, the anniversary of Julius Caesar's murder.

Page 73. **1. cella Palatini atriensis**: *the lodge of the major domo of the palace.* The *atriensis* is the overseer of the hall (*atrium*).

2. altero ostento: *by the latter portent*, *i.e.* by the fact that the lodge of the major domo had been struck.

3. qualis eodem die: see note on p. 72. 32.

6. Fortunae Antiatinae: see note on p. 23. 10.

7. Cassium Longinum: he reached Rome just before the assassination. The emperor had not taken immediate action, hence Cassius escaped; Dio, lix. 29.

13. sacrificans respersus est: according to Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 13, it was the toga of a senator named Asprenas that was spattered. Gaius laughed at the incident, but it was an ill omen, for Asprenas fell with Gaius.

14. Mnester: see note on p. 71. 16.

15. tragoediam: the play was entitled *Cinyras*, in which the death of this Assyrian king and his daughter Myrrha are represented; *cf.* Jos. *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 13.

16. quibus . . . Philippus occisus est: in the summer of 336 B.C., Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, held a festival

to solemnize the nuptials of his daughter. According to the Greek account, on the first day after the marriage Philip requested the tragedian Neoptolemus to recite a certain lyric piece appropriate to the monarch's coming expedition against the Persian king. In the course of the piece the actor sang of the fall of pride, power, wealth, and luxury. After Philip's murder this was taken in the light of a prophecy. On the second day of the festivities, while leading a procession to the theatre, Philip was stabbed by Pausanias, one of his nobles.

17. Laureolo mimo: *in a mime entitled Laureolus*; Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix, 1. 13, states that the mime represented the crucifixion of a robber chieftain; *cf.* Juv. viii. 187.

18. ruina: *i.e.* from some falling structure; ablative of separation. **secundarum**: *sc. partium.* These actors tried to outdo the star.

22. VIIII Kal. Febr.: *the 24th of January.* **hora fere septima**: *about one o'clock. Hora* signifies one-twelfth of an actual day (hence it varies from one and a quarter hours to three-quarters, according to the season), or the termination of such a period.

23. prandium: see note on p. 66. 7.

25. crypta: *a subterranean passage.* Some of these passages are still to be seen in the ruins of the Palatine. Dio and Josephus use the word στενωπός, 'a narrow way,' in telling of the deed.

26. ad edendas in scaena operas: *i.e.* to act.

28. princeps gregis: *the leader of the company.* **algere**: *was chilled.*

29. repraesentare: *have performed at once.* **voluit**: note the indicative for the sake of vividness, in a contrary-to-fact construction.

31. caesim: *i e.* with the edge of the sword.

32. hoc age: *attention*; a formula used by the sacrificing priest to arrest the attention of his audience. With the idiom *hoc agere*, 'to attend to the matter at hand,' *cf.* the opposite expression, *aliud agere*, 'to be inattentive.'

Page 74. **4. accipe ratum**: *so be it;* lit. 'receive it ratified.' Lipsius' emendation is *iratum*, 'receive him, *i.e.* Jove, in his wrath.' Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 14, states that even on this occasion, Gaius, on being asked for the watchword, gave an obscene answer to Chaerea.

6. clamitantem, *etc.*: Josephus' account is different; he says that Gaius made no outcry, conducted himself with dignity, and attempted to escape.

7. repete: *again!*

9. asseribus: these were the chair poles.

10. Germani, *etc.:* Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 15, gives a detailed account of the action of these guards. It was by them that Asprenas (see note on p. 73. 13) was killed, for they saw his toga stained with blood, which they supposed to be the blood of Gaius.

13. viginti novem, *etc.:* so Eutropius, vii. 12. Dio, lix. 30, says that he ruled three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days.

14. in hortos Lamianos: gardens belonging to the Lamian family, on the Esquiline hill.

15. tumultuario rogo: *i.e.* upon a funeral pile hastily constructed in the midst of confusion.

17. ab exilio reversas: they were recalled by order of Claudius; Dio, lx. 4.

21. perit una et uxor Caesonia: she was killed by Julius Lupus, a tribune sent for the purpose by Chaerea; *cf.* Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 2. 4. On *Caesonia*, see note on p. 60. 12.

25. nam neque caede vulgata, *etc.:* the feelings of different elements in the state, on hearing the news, are described at length by Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 1. 16.

30. in asserenda libertate: *cf. Claud.* chap. 10. 30.

31. curiam: the *Curia Hostilia*, or ancient senate house, was burned in the disturbances resulting from Clodius' death, 52 B.C. The restoration made by Augustus was known as the *Curia Iulia.*

Page 75. **1. sententiae loco**: *when it came their turn to speak.*

2. templa: *i.e.* the temples erected to the deified Caesars, Julius and Augustus.

5. Cinnanis temporibus: *i.e.* in the reign of terror in 87 B.C., when Marius and Cinna entered the city and wreaked vengeance upon their foes. *Cf.* Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 72, "Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, two brothers, were arrested in the street and killed."

CLAUDIUS — EMPEROR, 41–54 A.D.

Sources: Tacitus, *Annals* xi. and xii., or from the year 47 on. Dio, lx. (from the year 47, only in the abridgment of Xiphilin). Suetonius. Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 3 *seq.*

While the senate, after the assassination of Gaius, was deliberating and making plans to restore the republic, Claudius, uncle of Gaius, was proclaimed emperor by the troops. He owed his position to the soldiery, and rewarded them accordingly.

As a result of his weak character and purely literary training,

Claudius depended upon others, and soon became the puppet of his wives and freedmen. Hence the account of his reign is largely the story of the intrigues of the palace. However, Claudius showed good sense in many instances, as is evinced in particular by his speech, still in large part extant, in favor of the extension of the *ius honorum* to the nobility of Gallia Comata. A census was taken by Claudius, the finances were placed upon a firm basis, important public works were constructed, and reforms made in the judicial and police systems.

Page 76. **5. Drusum**: see note on p. 4. 15, and *stemma*, p. 142. **mox**: see note on p. 15. 21.

6. cum Augusto gravida nupsisset: *cf.* note on p. 4. 13.

8. vitrico: *i.e.* Augustus.

11. τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία: *the children of those on whom fortune smiles, in three months are born.*

12. dux Raetici . . . belli: on the Raetians, see note on p. 6. 32. Dio tells of the cruelty of the people of Raetia to Roman travellers and to Roman allies. As a result, Augustus, in the year 4 A.D., sent Drusus against them. Afterward Drusus and Tiberius carried on the war together. The account of Velleius, ii. 96, differs slightly from that of Dio, for he speaks of the brothers as colleagues from the beginning.

13. Oceanum . . . navigavit: 10 and 11 B.C.; Drusus was probably the commander of the fleet mentioned in the *Mon. Ancyranum*, chap. 26, *classis mea per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regiones usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit.* Dio, liv. 32, in describing the campaign, speaks of Drusus' sailing down the Rhine and into the ocean.

14. fossas novi et immensi operis: genitive of quality; see Introd. II. § 2, *d.* One of these canals connected the Rhine with the river Sala, the modern Issel. It was here, between the two rivers, according to Strabo, vii. 13, that Drusus died, in the full course of his victories. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 8, in speaking of Germanicus' subsequent operations in Germany, uses the expression, *fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus.*

16. caesum: *vanquished with great loss.*

18. species barbarae mulieris, *etc.*: Dio, lv. 1, after stating that Drusus attempted, but without success, to cross the swollen Elbe, continues: "For a woman of more than mortal frame confronted him, saying: 'Whither now, insatiable Drusus? 'Tis not conceded thee

by fate to see all that is here. Away! an end both of thy deeds and thy life is at hand.'"

19. quas ob res ovandi ius, *etc.*: 10 B.C. For the ovation, see note on p. 1. 15.

20. triumphalia ornamenta: see note on p. 7. 6.

21. confestim: *i.e.* without waiting for the ordinary interval of two years; *cf.* note on p. 7. 9.

22. obiit, *etc.*: 8 B.C. For place of death, see note on line 14.

23. Scelerata: this adjective in Augustan prose may have the meaning 'unfortunate,' or 'calamitous.'

24. municipiorum coloniarumque: both classes of towns had received Roman citizenship, so that there was now practically no distinction between them except that of origin.

Page 77. **1. decuriis**: *guilds.* The plural is used because the scribes connected with the various offices formed separate guilds; *e.g.* the *decuria quaestoria*, the scribes attached to the quaestors. **ad urbem**: *to the city.* The body was probably carried by the *primores* to the city gate and there received by the scribes who came out to meet it (*obviis*). Dio, lv. 2, says that the body was carried to the winter quarters of the Army of Germany by the centurions and tribunes, and then in turn by the prominent men of the different places along the route to Rome. He says nothing about the scribes.

2. in campo Martio: *i.e.* in the Mausoleum of Augustus. **honorarium ei tumulum**: *i.e.* a cenotaph in Germany. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 7 (17 A.D.), in speaking of the Chatti and Germanicus' campaign, states that the Chatti had thrown down the sepulchral mound lately raised to the Varian legions, and also the old altar of Drusus. Germanicus restored the altar, and with his legions performed manœuvres in honor of his father.

4. decurreret: the word means to perform a military manœuvre and is often, as here, employed to indicate the military display at funeral games. Dio, lvi. 42, gives a good description of such a ceremony over the body of Augustus in the Campus Martius. The cavalry galloped and the legionaries charged about the pyre, heaping upon the body, as they passed, all the objects that they had received at the hands of Augustus for their achievements in war.

6. cum tropaeis: *i.e.* adorned with the arms, helmets, shields, *etc.*, taken from the foe. **Via Appia**: see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (2).

7. posterisque eius: in fact, one of the sons is known only by the name Germanicus; see below, note on line 31. **fuisse autem credi-**

tur, *etc.*: *he is believed to have possessed as great a love for military renown as for political freedom.* These characteristics are illustrated by the statement that immediately follows. So Velleius Paterculus, ii. 97, who remarks that it was doubtful whether his genius was better adapted to the arts of war or peace.

9. opima spolia: technically, the spoils taken from the leader of the enemy by the hand of the Roman general. They were hung as an offering in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But three instances of the attainment of this glory are cited during the period of the kingdom and republic.

10. tota acie insectatus: *to have sought all over the battle-field.*

11. pristinum . . . statum: *i.e.* the republic.

18. filiis: *i.e.* Tiberius and Drusus.

20. Caesares: *i.e.* the princes or heirs. After the time of Hadrian the prevailing meaning of the word Caesar is that of heir to the empire.

23. prosa oratione: the classical expression is *oratio soluta* or *sermo solutus.*

28. Iulio Antonio, *etc.*: 9 B.C.

29. Luguduni: see note on p. 51. 25. **eo ipso die**, *etc.*: the words *primum* and *ibi* show that Suetonius does not mean that the birth and dedication occurred on the same day, but that this was the anniversary of the dedication. Render, 'the first of August, the very day on which an altar was first dedicated there to Augustus.' A ceremony was performed yearly at this altar even to the time of Dio Cassius (liv. 32).

31. fratre maiore: known only by his title Germanicus Caesar. He was entitled to the name Germanicus, apart from his deeds in Germany, as the title had been conferred upon his father Drusus and his descendants. See above, note on line 7.

Page 78. **6. post tutelam receptam**: *after attaining his majority.* This is a legal term and is used of one who has become *sui iuris* and hence is no longer under a guardian's care. **alieni arbitrii**: predicate genitive; Introd. II. § 2, *d.* **paedagogo**: the *paedagogus* acted as the tutor of a young child, and as it grew older, accompanied it to school as an attendant.

7. superiumentarium: *an overseer of teamsters*; the word does not occur elsewhere; see Introd. II, § 1, *a* (2). **ex industria**: the Ciceronian expression is *de industria.*

8. quibuscumque de causis . . . coerceret: *to repress him harshly on the most trifling pretexts.*

10. gladiatorio munere: this celebration is mentioned by Dio, lv. 27, under the year 9 A.D.

11. palliolatus: *muffled in a Greek robe.* Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* xi. 3. 144, says that the only excuse for wearing the *pallium*, as for wearing ear muffs and other wraps, is ill health.

12. togae virilis die: see note on p. 5. 19.

13. sine sollemni officio: *cf.* the expression *sine ullo honore* used in the same connection, *Calig.* chap. 10. 11.

14. disciplinis tamen liberalibus: synonymous with *artes liberales*, for which see note on p. 38. 13. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 46, mentions this characteristic of Claudius, *is composita aetate bonorum artium cupiens erat.* Dio, lx. 2, says that he was not without mental power and was so devoted to study that he always had some piece of writing on hand. He was particularly devoted to historical study; see chaps. 41 and 42.

15. experimenta cuiusque: *his efforts in each branch.*

16. publicavit: *edo* or *divulgo* are the classical terms.

22. pro despectissimo, *etc.*: *always regarded him as the greatest object of contempt.*

24. monere: for meaning, see note on p. 58. 8.

26. tam iniquam . . . detestata est: *prayed, in a manner to be distinctly heard, that the Romans be spared such an unjust and unmerited fate. Detestor* has two meanings: (1) 'to curse,' (2) 'to deprecate,' as here.

27. avunculus maior Augustus: through Augustus' sister Octavia, the mother of Antonia, who in turn was the mother of Claudius.

29. capita: *extracts.*

31. Livia: Augustus' wife; see note on p. 4. 13.

32. ludis Martialibus: these games consisted of horse races and animal hunts (Dio, lvi. 27). They had been instituted in honor of Mars Ultor, whose temple in the Forum Augusti was dedicated on August 1, 2 B.C. (Dio, lx. 5).

Page 79. **2. artius**: ἄρτιος; a Greek word in Roman letters; equivalent to *aptus*, 'ready,' 'quick.'

3. holocleros: ὁλόκληρος, equivalent to *integer*, 'complete in all parts,' 'sound.'

4. per articulos et gradus: *by the customary appointments in order. Articulos* emphasizes the separate steps; *gradus*, the sequence.

5. frater: *i.e.* Germanicus.

6. sin autem ἡλαττῶσθαι sentimus: *but if we perceive that he be wanting and defective in respect to physical and mental perfection.*

9. τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν, *etc.*: *εἰωθόσιν* is a perfect participle agreeing with *hominibus*; 'who are accustomed to mock and sneer at such defects.'

10. de singulis articulis temporum: *on each occasion as it presents itself.*

11. μὴ προϋποκειμένου, *etc.*: a genitive absolute; *if it be not decided beforehand whether or not in our opinion he can hold office.* Note how Augustus interlards his letters with Greek words and phrases, a practice common at that time and in the following age; *cf.* the letters of Cicero and Pliny.

13. curare . . . triclinium: *i.e.* to superintend the sacred banquet. Such feasts were given in connection with various religious observances and were noted for their magnificence. The officials having charge of them were styled *epulonēs.*

14. ab Silani filio: probably Lucius Silanus, betrothed to Claudius' daughter. Appius, the father, was put to death by Claudius; see *Claud.* chap. 29. 6.

16. ex pulvinari: the imperial box in the circus; its location is not known. *Cf. Aug.* 45, *spectabat interdum ex pulvinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens.* It may have been situated on the *podium*, a position which would be well indicated by the words, *in fronte prima spectaculorum*, *i.e.* in the very front part of that portion of the circus used for seating the spectators. On the meaning of *spectacula*, see note on p. 61. 4. For another part of the circus frequented by the emperor, see note on p. 112. 22.

19. aut esse Romae Latinarum diebus: Augustus thinks it inappropriate that Claudius remain at Rome and yet not be appointed prefect. By prefect, we are not to understand the imperial prefect of the city, but the old republican officer who, even in the time of the empire, was appointed during the Latin festival when the magistrates proceeded in a body to the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban mount to offer sacrifice. For the *feriae Latinae*, see note on p. 54. 17.

25. alteris litteris: *in a second letter.* The word *litterae* signifies 'epistle,' unless accompanied by the distributive numeral adjective, in which case it means 'epistles.' Sometimes the context may show that the plural is meant, even when the distributive adjective is not employed.

27. Sulpicio: not otherwise known.

28. Athenodoro: the Stoic philosopher of Tarsus. Octavius attended his courses at Apollonia, and afterward brought him to Rome. Strabo, xiv. 4. 14, speaking of two philosophers, both named Athenodorus, continues: "The other son of Sandon, called Canites, from the name of his village, was the preceptor of Caesar (*i.e.* Augustus) who conferred upon him great honor. In his old age he returned to his native land," *etc.* If this be the man referred to by Suetonius, as seems likely, he must have lived to an advanced age. **qui**: the antecedent is *Tiberium* above. **minus μετεώρως**: *with greater care;* lit. 'less flightily.'

29. motum et habitum et incessum: *movements, carriage, and gait.*

30. misellus ἀτυχεῖ, *etc.*: *the poor fellow is unfortunate; for in serious matters when his mind is not clouded, he gives evidence of nobility of soul.* See Introd. II. § 1, *c.* The diminutive expresses pity.

Page 80. **3. ἀσαφῶς**: *indistinctly.* **qui**: *how.* **σαφῶς**: *clearly.* Seneca, *Apoc.* 5, attributes to Claudius a voice like that of no human being, but like the roar of a sea monster, hoarse and inarticulate.

5. quid . . . constituerit: an indirect question. Somewhat loosely, but with no possibility of being misunderstood, Suetonius continues, *et reliquerit*, where the reader readily supplies *quin*, suggested by the introductory words, *nec dubium est.* **post haec**: *i.e.* after such an expression of his opinion.

8. e parte sexta nuncuparit: *named him heir to a sixth part of his estate.* The expression *e sextante* or *in sextante* might have been used; see note on p. 15. 30.

9. octingentorum sestertiorum: about $40,000. *Sestertiorum* is the genitive of *sestertia*, not *sestertii.*

10. prosecutus: see note on p. 14. 17.

11. consularia ornamenta: *i.e.* simply the title and insignia of the consulship without the power; *cf. triumphalia ornamenta.*

12. legitimos: *sc. honores; i.e.* as opposed to the mere *ornamenta.*

13. quadraginta aureos: about $200. For the *aureus*, see note on p. 65. 5. **in Saturnalia et Sigillaria**: for the duration of the Saturnalia, see note on p. 52. 2. The sixth and seventh days of the Saturnalia were called the *Sigillaria*, from the sale of the terra-cotta figures used as gifts at that season.

17. ex contubernio sordidissimorum: for meaning of *contu-*

bernium, see note on p. 11. 1. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 49, also notices his predilection for low company.

18. ebrietatis quoque et aleae: *cf. Claud.* chap. 33. 21.

21. publice: *on the part of the state.*

22. perferendae legationis: see Introd. II. § 2, *d*, end.

25. exposceret: the subject is *equester ordo.*

26. apud eosdem: *i.e.* the consuls; the dative might have been used. **spectaculis**: ablative of time.

27. lacernas: the *lacerna* was a cloak of thick material to be thrown over the toga; *cf. Aug.* 40, *negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere.*

28. sodalium Augustalium: a college of priests appointed to have charge of the rites instituted in honor of the deified Augustus. The example was followed in the case of succeeding emperors who were considered worthy. The memories of Tiberius, Gaius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian were not so honored. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 54, states that the *sodalium Augustalium* consisted of twenty-one members, to whom were added (*extra ordinem*) Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus.

Page 81. **1. resarturum**: *would repair;* a colloquial word.

2. tamen: *i.e.* notwithstanding his previous attitude toward him.

3. legato etiam circa sestertium vicies: *a legacy of about 2,000,000 sesterces.* Roth, following Gronovius' conjecture, reads *sestertii.* On the construction of *sestertium*, see note on p. 25. 27. For meaning of *prosecutus*, *cf.* note on p. 14. 17.

7. secundam existimationem circa, *etc.*: *endeavoring to create a favorable impression with regard to the beginning of his reign by all the arts of a deceiver.* For *circa*, see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

9. consulatum gessit: 37 B.C. *Cf.* note on p. 50. 4.

10. primitus: archaic for *primum.*

15. partim . . . partim: *some of them . . . others.*

16. obnoxius: *exposed; cf. Tib.* chap. 63. 10.

19. recipiebatur: *i.e.* was given a seat. **quotiens . . . addormisceret**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

22. excitabatur a copreis: *he was aroused by the buffoons.* In the time of the empire, wealthy households maintained a body of slaves whose duty was to furnish entertainment for the guests. These slaves comprised buffoons, dwarfs, fools, *etc.* (*scurrae*, *copreae*, *moriones*, *nani*, *etc.*).

26. Caesaris: *i.e.* Caligula.

27. honore: the consulship.

28. extraneo vel etiam, *etc.*: ablative absolute, *continually disturbed by the different charges brought against him, not only by outsiders, but even by his own domestics.*

30. Lepidi et Gaetulici coniuratio: these were Aemilius Lepidus, mentioned in *Calig.* chap. 24, and Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus *fils;* see note on p. 45. 16. Dio, lix. 22, hints at a conspiracy on the part of Gaetulicus in 39 A.D.: "Gaius ordered Lentulus Gaetulicus put to death; he was a man of distinction and had been governor of Germany for ten years. The charge was that he had endeavored to curry favor with the army." Dio then goes on to say that Lepidus, who had been on very intimate terms with Caligula, by whom he had been selected as his successor to the throne, was also put to death. Thereupon Caligula granted a largess to the army, "as though he had triumphed over the enemy." Dio evidently does not believe in the truth of these charges, for he continues, "Gaius wrote and sent to the senate an account of these matters, as though he had escaped from plots against his life. On other occasions, too, he was wont to feign that his life was passed amid great dangers."

Page 82. **1. potissimum**: adverb, *rather than any one else.*

3. numquam non . . . novissimus: *always last.*

5. etiam cognitio, *etc.*: *the senate entertained a motion to investigate a case involving the forgery of a will, which Claudius, too, had signed as witness.*

7. novi sacerdotii: instituted by Gaius; see *Calig.* chap. 22. 21.

9. obligatam aerario fidem: *his bond pledged to the treasury. Aerario* is dative.

10. in vacuum lege praediatoria, *etc.*: *that by edict of the praefects* (*i.e.* of the treasury) *his property was offered for sale to meet the deficiency, in accordance with the law governing confiscation.* The exact meaning of the expression *in vacuum* is a matter of conjecture. Other possible, but not probable, interpretations are: 'in mockery,' *i.e.* no real sale was to take place, it was advertised simply to cast ridicule upon Claudius; 'in vain,' *i.e.* no purchaser could be found. *Venalis* agrees with the subject of the verb, *i.e. Claudius.* **pependerit**: from *pendeo*, an idiom meaning that his goods, not he, were offered for sale.

12. quinquagesimo anno: 41 A.D.

13. quantumvis: equivalent to *valde* or *perquam.*

14. quasi . . . desiderante: Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

15. diaetam: *diaeta* (lit. 'a place for living') does not signify any definite kind of room. It means, in different connections, a sleeping room, a dining room, a summer house, or even a suite of apartments. It means here one of Claudius' rooms in the palace.

16. Hermaeum: perhaps so named from a statue in the apartment.

17. solarium: the *diaeta* probably opened on a portion of the roof of the palace used as a terrace (*solarium*). The doorway or swinging window leading to this terrace was draped with a curtain. The word *solarium* is also, in *Nero*, chap. 16. 29, used to signify the roofs of porticoes. The account of the discovery of Claudius is very much the same in both Dio, lx. 1, and Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* xix. 3. The account of the latter is, however, much more detailed. They both say that Claudius was found hiding in a dark corner. Josephus gives the name Gratus to the soldier who discovered him.

19. e studio sciscitandi . . . adgnovit: *as a result of his desire to find out who it was (he looked) and recognized him.* The soldier, from seeing the feet of Claudius, knew that some one was trying to hide, and his curiosity was aroused. Inasmuch as the expression *e studio sciscitandi . . . adgnovit*, 'from the desire of finding out . . . he recognized,' is not strictly logical, Madvig suspects that the word *adgnovit* has crept into the text, and emends to read *studio sciscitandi quisnam esset, etc., salutavit.* The expression can hardly be misunderstood, however, and is used for the sake of brevity.

22. fluctuantis nec quicquam, *etc.*: *a prey to uncertainty, and as yet doing nothing but giving vent to their rage.*

24. sui diffugerant: *i.e.* Claudius' litter-bearers.

26. quasi . . . raperetur: this seems to be a sort of running together of the two constructions mentioned in Introd. II. § 6, *c*, and § 3, *b* (4). **intra vallum**: *i.e.* of the praetorian camp on the edge of the city; *cf.* note on p. 22. 15.

27. inter excubias militum: *with the soldiers on guard.*

28. spe: *i.e.* for his succession. **fiducia**: *i.e.* of being safe from violence. **nam consules**, *etc.*: *cf. Calig.* chap. 60. 31. Dio, lx. 1, says that the senators, when they saw themselves deserted by their soldiers, finally offered Claudius the purple, though for some time they had sent messages to him warning him not to accept the principate and to submit to the will of the people and senate.

30. asserturi: Introd. II. § 4, *a* (1).

Page 83. **1. per taedium ac dissensionem diversa censentium**: *disgusted with the dissensions of the different factions;* a case of hendiadys.

5. quina dena sestertia: about $750. From this time it became a custom for the emperor, on his accession, to bestow a largess upon the praetorians who played such an important rôle in choosing the *princeps.*

7. antiquius: *more important.*

11. praestitit: *guaranteed.*

12. paucis interemptis: Dio, lx. 3, states that he put Chaerea to death as having established a bad precedent in killing an emperor, and as though he had caught him plotting against himself. He made no pretence of avenging Gaius. Others, who had desired the reëstablishment of the republic, or who even had designs upon the principate, he not only forgave, but advanced to positions in the state.

14. officia pietatis: *i.e.* his obligations to his relatives. For *pietas*, see note on p. 42. 12.

15. ius iurandum . . . per Augustum: *the oath which he deemed most binding, and which he most frequently used, was 'By Augustus!'*

16. Liviae divinos honores: forbidden by Tiberius; see *Tib.* chap. 51. 6.

17. Augustino similem: "A first brass of Augustus, coined in pursuance of a decree of the senate after his death, represents him seated upon the thensa of consecration, drawn by four elephants, on each of which sits a driver" (Stevenson, *Hist. of Roman Coins*, p. 358).

19. patri: Drusus. **matri**: Antonia minor.

20. carpentum: see note on p. 49. 32. **cognomen Augustae**: Augustus, in his will, had ordered her to take the title; *Aug.* 101.

21. fratris: Germanicus.

23. Neapolitano certamine: these were the quinquennial games instituted in honor of Augustus. *Aug.* 98, *tamen et quinquennale certamen gymnicum honori suo institutum, perspectavit* (*Augustus*). Strabo, v. 4. 7, states that the Neapolitans celebrated these games every five years, that they consisted of contests in music and gymnastic exercises lasting many days, and that in fact they rivalled the most famous games of Greece. Dio, lx. 6, speaks in the highest terms of Claudius' conduct while staying at Naples. He was unassuming, just, and moderate in his expenditures.

24. Marcum quidem Antonium: the triumvir, the father of Antonia minor, mother of Claudius.

28. marmoreum arcum, *etc.:* probably decreed because of his having undertaken to restore the theatre of Pompey; *cf. Tib.* chap. 47. 16. Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 41, mentions the completion of another arch, 17 A.D., under the auspices of Tiberius, for the recovery by Germanicus of the standards of Varus.

30. Gai quoque acta, *etc.: cf.* Dio, lx. 4, who says that Claudius annulled the imposts levied by the command of Gaius, as well as his other enactments open to censure. He did not do this all at once, but as each case came to his notice. He further recalled those who had been unjustly exiled, and liberated those unjustly imprisoned.

Page 84. **1. civilis**: *unassuming;* see note on p. 17. 14.

2. sponsalia: Dio, lx. 5 (41 A.D.), speaks of the betrothal of two daughters, one to L. Junius Silanus, and another to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.

3. natalemque geniti: the addition of *geniti* shows that the meaning is the actual day of birth.

6. praefectum praetorii: after his return from Britain (43 A.D.), Claudius granted this honor to the praefect, Rubrius Pollio; *cf.* Dio, lx. 23. Tiberius had made the same request after the death of Sejanus.

8. procuratores sui: the addition of *sui* shows that the *procuratores Caesaris*, or agents of Caesar, are meant. Suetonius probably means the procurators of the *fiscus*, or imperial financial agents, rather than the governors of small outlying districts (*procuratores Caesaris pro legato*). **precario exegit**: *he solicited as a favor.*

9. ius nundinarum in privata, *etc.: the right of holding fairs on his private estates;* lit. 'the right for his estates'; hence the accusative. This request is illustrated by a passage from Pliny, *Epist.* v. 4, *vir praetorius Sollers a senatu petiit ut sibi instituere nundinas in agris suis permitteretur.*

10. cognitionibus magistratuum: *cases tried before magistrates, i.e.* before the old republican magistrates.

12. voce: *i.e.* by complimentary expressions. **manu**: probably by throwing kisses to them.

16. profectum eum Ostiam: in the year 48 A.D.; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 26. Messalina took advantage of this absence to solemnize her marriage with Silius.

23. a singulis et per factionem et denique civili bello: note the lack of concinnity in construction. See Introd. II. "Language and Style."

26. equestris ordinis duo: Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 22 (47 A.D.), mentions one Cn. Nonius, found armed in the throng of those paying their respects to the emperor. Whether this is one of the two men mentioned by Suetonius, or a third conspirator, is not clear.

27. dolone: *sword-cane.*

29. Martis aedem: see note on p. 66. 3.

30. Pollionis ac Messalae: Asinius Pollio and Statilius Corvinus Messala, distinguished orators of the time of Augustus.

32. Furius Camillus Scribonianus: 52 A.D. According to Dio, lx. 15, he was first incited to this insurrection by Annius Vinicianus, but afterward made the cause his own. On his threatening letters, see *Claud.* chap. 35. 22.

Page 85. **3. religione**: explained by the clause *postquam . . . potuerunt.*

5. casu quodam ac divinitus: *as it happened, and that, too, by divine agency.* **aquilae ornari**: probably with garlands and with perfumes, for the *aquilae* of the legions were kept in a shrine in the camp with the images of the gods, and received the adoration of the troops.

7. super pristinum: see note on p. 50. 4.

8. duo primos iunctim: 42 A.D., with C. Largus as colleague; and 43 A.D., with L. Vitellius. **sequentis per intervallum**: the third, 47 A.D., with L. Vitellius; the fourth, 34 A.D., with Ser. Cornelius Orfitus. **quarto quemque anno**: *of three years*, lit. 'each on the fourth year.'

10. circa principem: *in the case of an emperor.* As Claudius was regular consul with Vitellius this year, it may be supposed that the consul-elect had died, and that Claudius took his place (*suffectus*), becoming regular consul (*ordinarius*) on the Ides of January, when the dead man would have begun his term. For the *consul suffectus*, see note on p. 17. 30.

12. extra honorem: *i.e.* when not holding office. Claudius is ridiculed in the *Apocolocyntosis* for his assiduity in this regard; it being represented that he would sit all day long as judge during the months of July and August, *i.e.* during the summer vacation of the court.

14. antiquitus: modifies *festis*; 'observed of old.'

16. ex bono et aequo perinde ut: *according as he was influenced by considerations of justice and equity.*

17. privatos: *i.e.* acting as jurors in cases involving private citizens.

18. formula excidissent: *had lost their suits. Formula excidere* is equivalent to the phrase *causa cadere;* see note on p. 63. 24.

20. in cognoscendo: Suetonius has been speaking of the ordinary administration of justice (*iuris dictio*). *In cognoscendo* refers to special judicial inquiries (*cognitiones*) conducted by the emperor.

24. cum decurias rerum actu expungeret: on the meaning of *decuriae*, see note on p. 27. 26. *Expungeret* has the force of *recensere*, 'to clear off' or 'revise.' The expression *rerum actus* means the prosecution of judicial business; *cf. Nero*, chap. 17. 18. It seems best to take *actu* as a dative, defining the duties of the decuries, 'decuries for the prosecution of judicial business'; *i.e.* decuries of jurors. *Actu* is not to be taken as ablative of separation, as Claudius would not be apt to dismiss whole decuries of jurors.

25. dissimulata vacatione, *etc.: concealing the fact that he was exempt by virtue of his children.* We may conjecture that this exemption was one of the inducements to marriage offered by the *Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea*, for which see note on p. 21. 22.

26. responderat: *had appeared.*

27. alium interpellatum, *etc.: another juror was accosted by his adversaries with regard to a suit of his own; on stating that this matter did not properly come before Caesar's special tribunal, but was a matter for the ordinary courts to settle, Caesar compelled him to plead his case immediately in the imperial presence, saying that in a matter touching his own interests, the man would show how just a juror he would be in a case pertaining to another.* It would appear that the man was one of the jurors serving in a special court, with Caesar on the bench. While so serving (such seems to be the idea conveyed by the prefix *inter* of the verb *interpellatum*), he was asked by his opponents in a suit to allow his own case tried before this special court of inquiry.

32. dubia utrimque argumentorum fide: *for the testimony on each side was untrustworthy.*

Page 86. **1. indicto**: *sc. ei, i.e. feminae.* **absentibus**: *when parties to a suit failed to appear;* ablative absolute.

2. secundum: *in favor of.* According to Dio, lx. 28, the reason that some failed to appear was the fear of losing their cases. Claudius then issued his edict that unless they appeared before a fixed day, he would pass judgment against those absent, which in fact he did. **dabat**: *i.e.* gave the case to them.

5. acciri . . . flagitavit: for infinitive, see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1).

6. peregrinitatis reum : *i.e.* charged with having unlawfully exercised the rights of a Roman citizen.

7. togatumne, *etc.:* if he wore the toga, his innocence was conceded ; if the *pallium*, his guilt was taken for granted.

10. ex tabella : *i.e.* in writing, as though handing down an important decision.

15. mortuus est, inquit: puto, licuit : *he is dead, said he; his excuse is, I take it, a good one.* The lawyer is ridiculing Claudius, the judge.

17. et tamen fieri solet : this is equivalent to saying, 'yet there is nothing to thank you for after all.'

22. Graeculo : see note on p. 8. 9.

23. καὶ σὺ γέρων εἶ καὶ μωρός : *thou art both an old man and a fool.*

30. gessit et censuram: 47 A.D. The chronicle of Eusebius states that under Claudius, 6,840,000 citizens were enumerated. **intermissam diu post Plancum,** *etc.:* Plancus and Paulus were censors in the year 21 A.D. Dio, liv. 2, relates that when the senate desired to make Augustus perpetual censor, he refused the honor and appointed Plancus and Paulus, and that these were the last private citizens to hold the office together. From this time on, the emperors discharged the duties of the office under the title *praefectura morum.* Sometimes, but rarely, the title *censor* was assumed when a census was actually held, as in the case mentioned in the text. Plancus and Paulus reflected no credit upon Augustus, since Paulus was incapable and Plancus a reprobate ; *cf.* Vell. Pat. ii. 95.

31. inaequabiliter varioque et animo, *etc.: showing the same instability of character and erratic conduct.*

Page 87. **2. censorem suum** : *i.e.* his father.

5. aetatulae indulgeret : *sow his wild oats ;* note the diminutive, and *cf. pelliculam curare*, Hor. *Ser.* ii. 5. 38 ; the diminutive in such expressions denotes affectionate interest.

6. quare enim scio, *etc. : for why do you let me know what mistress you keep, i.e.* why are you not more circumspect in your intrigues.

8. litura tamen, inquit, exstet: to be understood as one of Claudius' keen remarks.

9. Graeciaeque provinciae: *i.e.* the province of Achaia, which was now the political name of Greece.

10. albo: the *album*, lit. 'a white tablet,' is the regular word for a list or register. **in peregrinitatem redegit**: *i.e.* deprived of

Roman citizenship. Dio, lx. 17, cites the case of a Lycian by birth, Roman by naturalization, being deprived of his citizenship by Claudius, because of his ignorance of the Latin language.

16. in provincia: the king was probably visiting some Roman province. **Rabirio Postumo**: the same who was defended by Cicero, in an oration still extant.

17. Ptolemaeum: object of *secuto*. This was Ptolemy, surnamed Auletes. **crediti servandi causa**: *to recover a loan.*

18. maiestatis: see note on p. 2. 23. **motum**: *was brought against him.*

19. magna inquisitorum neglegentia, *etc.*: ablative of attendant circumstance; they had been negligent in ascertaining the facts in the cases.

22. probantibus: the subject of this ablative absolute is the antecedent of *quibuscumque.*

26. ad Sigillaria: for the word, see note on p. 80. 13. It signifies besides, as in the present passage, a mart in Rome, where these images, books, and works of art were sold.

29. dolia: earthenware jars in which the must was poured, and allowed to ferment for the space of a year in the wine cellar. These vessels were pitched to improve the flavor of the wine.

31. expeditionem unam: that to Britain, 43 B.C., mentioned below.

32. decretis sibi, *etc.*: Dio, lx. 8, tells us that Claudius' freedmen persuaded him to accept an honorary triumph for his achievements in Mauretania, although he had not only won no victory, but did not even possess *imperium* at the time the war was finished. For the *ornamenta triumphalia*, see note on p. 7. 6.

Page 88. **1. maiestati**: *for his dignity.* The ablative after the comparative might have been used.

2. unde adquireret: *sc. decus* as object. *Britanniam* is object of *elegit.*

3. ulli: dative of agent with perfect participle; see Introd. II. § 2, *c* (1).

4. post Divum Iulium: *cf.* Tac. *Agric.* 13: "Accordingly Julius Caesar, the first Roman who entered Britain with an army, although he terrified the inhabitants by a successful engagement, and became master of the shore, may be considered rather to have transmitted the discovery, than the possession of the country, to posterity. It is certain that Gaius Caesar meditated an expedition into Britain; but his

temper, precipitate in forming schemes and unsteady in pursuing them, together with the ill success of his mighty attempts against Germany, rendered the design abortive. Claudius accomplished the undertaking, transporting the legions and auxiliaries, and associating Vespasian in the direction of affairs." Dio, lx. 19, states that Bericus, one of the malcontents who had been expelled from the island, impelled Claudius to undertake the expedition.

6. **circio**: Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 121, thus describes this wind: "In the province of Narbonne, the most noted wind is the Circius; it is not inferior to any of the winds in violence, frequently driving the waves before it to Ostia, straight across the Ligurian sea. Yet this wind is unknown in other parts, not even reaching Vienne, a city in the same province."

7. **Stoechadas insulas**: *les isles d'Hières*, off Marseilles; *cf.* Strabo, iv. 1. 10, "Lying off this narrow pass, along the coast as you begin your journey from Marseilles, are the Stoechadas islands. Three are of considerable extent, and two are small."

8. **Gesoriacum**: also known as *Bononia*, the modern *Boulogne-sur-Mer*.

9. **intra paucissimos dies**: according to Dio, lx. 23, he spent but sixteen days in Britain, returning to Rome after an absence of six months.

10. **sexto quam profectus erat,** *etc.*: for construction, *cf.* note on p. 32. 17.

11. **triumphavitque**: according to Dio, lx. 23, besides performing the usual ceremonies, Claudius crawled up the steps of the Capitol on his hands and knees, aided by his sons-in-law, one on each side.

13. **praesidibus**: see note on p. 20. 16.

14. **navalem coronam**: the crown was formed to represent the beaks of ships, and before the period of the empire was only granted to the man who first boarded the enemy's vessel.

15. **iuxta civicam**: see note on p. 17. 26.

17. **secuti et . . . adepti**: *they, too, followed, who had obtained, etc.*

19. **veste palmata**: the *tunica* embroidered with palm branches in gold.

20. **quod eum honorem,** *etc.*: *because this was the second time he had obtained the honor.*

22. **Aemiliana**: supposed to be a poor suburb of Rome, situated near the *Porta Fontinalis*, on the site of what was afterward the Forum of Trajan. **in diribitorio**: a huge structure near the *Saepta*,

begun by Agrippa and finished by Augustus. The ballots were here distributed and counted, largesses issued to the people and gifts bestowed upon the soldiery.

24. familiarum: *slaves.* Introd. II. § 1, *d.* **auxilio**: dative of purpose.

25. ex omnibus vicis: from all quarters of the city. For the word *vicus*, see note on p. 41. 29.

26. fiscis: the literal meaning, *sack*, is to be given *fiscus* in the present passage. **repraesentans**: the word means 'to bring before one,' and hence 'to do a thing immediately,' as, for instance, to pay money on the spot.

27. artiore autem annona, *etc.*: on the *annona*, see note on p. 6. 21. *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43 (51 A.D.): "A failure of the crops and the resulting famine was regarded as a prodigy. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to murmurs: they even gathered round the prince with tumultuous shouts, while he was administering justice, and, driving him to the extremity of the Forum, pressed upon him with violence, till at length, by means of a compact body of soldiers, he forced his way through the incensed multitude. It is certain that there was at that time in Rome provision for but fifteen days."

29. conviciisque et simul fragminibus: note the zeugma, 'abused and assailed,' *etc.*

30. postico: *postern;* Orosius, vii. 6. 17, in telling the story, uses the word *pseudothyrum*, 'secret door.'

31. nihil non excogitavit: *he thought of every possible plan.*

Page 89. **1. si cui quid**: *si* affects *quid* as well as *cui.*

3. pro condicione cuiusque: explained by the clauses following.

4. legis Papiae Poppaeae: see note on p. 21. 22.

5. ius Quiritium: equivalent to *ius civitatis.* The lawyers did, indeed, make a distinction; when a *Latinus* obtained Roman citizenship, he was usually said to obtain *ius Quiritium*, as here; when a *peregrinus* obtained such rights, *ius civitatis* was considered the proper expression. **ius quattuor liberorum**: according to a provision of the *lex Papia Poppaea*, free-born women were released from *tutela* after having borne three children, and freedwomen after having borne four.

7. opera magna potiusquam necessaria et multa perfecit: the manuscript reading is, *opera magna potiusquam necessaria quam multa*, for which Roth and the older editions have *opera magna*

potiusque necessaria quam multa. Madvig reads *magna potius necessariaque*, suggesting that *-que* fell out before *quam* and was then incorrectly introduced as *quam* before *necessaria.* The reading of the text is the suggestion of Max Ihm; it gives the proper sense, and is easily accounted for.

8. **sed vel praecipua**: *but to cite the most important.* On the force of *vel*, see note on p. 37. 5. **ductum aquarum**: see note on p. 53. 22.

9. **Fucini lacus**: a broad but shallow lake in the country of the Marsi; it is now called *Lago di Celano.*

10. **alterum ab Augusto**: *i.e.* the outlet.

11. **alterum a Divo Iulio**: *i.e.* the *porta Ostiensis.*

13. **Claudiae aquae**: the Claudian aqueduct was known as the *aqua Claudia.*

15. **Anienis novi**: finished in 46 A.D. The *Anio vetus* was one of the oldest aqueducts of Rome, dating back to 265 B.C.

16. **lacus**: the water conveyed to Rome by an aqueduct was received into a large reservoir (*castellum*), often in the form of an ornate building. From this structure it was diverted to other smaller *castella*, and that portion intended for further public distribution was drawn off into smaller reservoirs and ponds (*lacus*) and fountains (*salientes*).

17. **Fucinum adgressus est**, *etc.*: Dio, lx. 11, gives another reason for the undertaking,—the desire to improve the Tiber by giving it a larger volume of water. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 124, thus speaks of the work: "Among the most memorable works too, I, for my part, should include another undertaking of the Emperor Claudius, although it was afterward abandoned in consequence of the hatred borne him by his successors; I mean the channel that was cut through a mountain, an outlet for Lake Fucinus; a work which cost a sum beyond all calculation, and employed a countless multitude of workmen for many years. In those parts where the soil was found to be soft, it was necessary to pump up the water by the aid of machinery; in other parts again, the solid rock had to be hewn through. All this, too, had to be done in the midst of darkness within; a series of operations which can only be adequately conceived by those who were witnesses of them, and which no human language can possibly describe."

22. **continuis**: this word conveys the idea that the workmen were engaged all along the line of the work, simultaneously.

23. **portum Ostiae**: Dio, lx. 11, gives a similar description. He

states that a considerable part of the shore was cut away, forming a bay, the sides of which were built up with stone-work; piers were carried out from the ends of the above wall, and the entrance protected by an artificial island with its lighthouse.

24. ad introitum, *etc.: at the entrance where deep soundings were found, a mole was thrown up for protection.* This mole is the artificial island of Dio's account. **profundo iam salo**: an ablative of attendant circumstance.

25. navem: this was the Great Eastern of antiquity, well described by Pliny, *N. H.* xvi. 201: "It is beyond all doubt that there has been seen nothing on the sea more wonderful than this ship; 120,000 *modii* of lentils formed the ballast, and its length took up the greater part of the left side of the harbor at Ostia. It was sunk at that place by order of the Emperor Claudius, three moles, each as high as a tower, being built upon it; they were constructed of cement, which the same vessel had conveyed from Puteoli. It took the arms of four men to span the girth of the fir that formed the mast."

26. magnus obeliscus: this obelisk (called the *great* to distinguish it from two others erected by Augustus in Rome) was conveyed from Alexandria to Rome in the vessel described above, and set up by Gaius in his circus on the Vatican. See Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 70. From here it was removed by Pope Sextus V. to its present position before the cathedral of St. Peter.

28. Phari: see note on p. 40. 30.

32. commenticia: *newly invented.*

Page 90. **1. Pompeiani theatri**: dedicated by Pompey, 55 B.C. Its stage was burned in the reign of Tiberius, who undertook the restoration, but left the dedication to Gaius; see *Calig.* chap. 21. 22.

3. commisit: *presided;* lit. 'gave the signal to begin.' **apud superiores aedes**: there was a temple in the upper part of the theatre of Pompey, devoted to the service of Venus (*cf.* Tertullian, *De Spect.* 10). There was also a temple of Victory (*cf.* Aul. Gell. x. 1. 7), which explains the plural *aedes.* Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 20, however, evidently referring to this, calls it the temple of *Venus Victrix.* Possibly it was a temple with two shrines, one for Venus and one for Victoria.

5. caveam: the *cavea* was the body of the theatre devoted to the seats (*spectacula*).

6. fecit et Saeculares: 47 A.D., sixty-four years since the celebration of these games by Augustus, 17 B.C.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.

7. quamvis . . . prodat: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

9. in ordinem redegisse: *had restored them to their proper period.*

10. invitantis more sollemni: *invitantis*, concrete for abstract *invitandi*. **sollemni**: *customary*.

13. quidam histrionum, *etc.*: Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 159, mentions one Stephanio, who performed at both celebrations.

14. in Vaticano: *sc. colle; i.e.* in the *Gaianum*, where the obelisk mentioned above stood.

15. per quinos missus: *after every five courses run by the chariots.* The regular number of courses per day was twenty-four, four chariots contending in each course.

16. carceribus: the arched chambers where the chariots stood awaiting the signal to start.

17. metis: the three conical pillars at either end of the *spina*, around which the chariots ran seven times per course. **tofina**: *of tufa;* this stone and travertine, both of volcanic origin, are even now largely used at Rome for building purposes.

18. propria . . . loca: this of course refers to seats in the circus. Senators possessed this privilege in the theatre as early as 194 B.C. **promiscue**: this does not mean that the senators had not sat together, but that they had hitherto had no definite place assigned to them. That such is the idea is clear from Dio's words, lx. 7, "The different orders, senators, knights, and plebs, before this time sat by themselves, but no definite places had been assigned. Claudius now assigned to the senators the seats which they occupy at the present time." Nero made the same regulation with regard to the knights; see *Nero*, chap. 11. 9.

19. Troiae lusum: see note on p. 5. 17.

20. Africanas: see note on p. 52. 17; *cf.* Dio, lx. 7: "In the circus, there was one exhibition of camels and twelve of horses. Three hundred bears and the same number of wild beasts from Africa were slain." **conficiente**: *hunting them down.*

22. Thessalos equites, *etc.*: this form of amusement originated in Thessaly. *Cf.* Pliny *N. H.* viii. 182: "The people of Thessaly invented a method of killing bulls, by means of a man on horseback, who would ride up to them, and, seizing one of the horns, so twist the neck. Caesar, the dictator, was the first person who exhibited this spectacle at Rome."

26. anniversarium: *i.e.* the anniversary of his being proclaimed emperor, appropriately observed in the praetorian camp.

27. Saeptis: see note on p. 12. 17.

29. sportulam: the *sportula*, originally a small basket, came to

have the meaning 'dole' or 'pittance,' which was given in place of the food received by the client from his patron, and carried in the *sportula*. The emperor here applies the term to games which he got up on the spur of the moment, *i.e.* they were basket picnics, so to speak.

30. ad subitam condictamque cenulam: *to a bit of a dinner, for which no extra preparation had been made. Condictam* means literally 'suddenly announced'; *cf.* note on p. 24. 32, where the verb means to 'invite oneself to.'

31. communior aut remissior: *more condescending or under less constraint.*

32. aureos: see note on p. 65. 5.

Page 91. **3. dominos**: the word in late Latin was used with the force of 'Sir' or 'Mr.' **frigidis**: we say 'flat.'

4. arcessitis: *far-fetched.* **Palumbum**: the name of a gladiator. It also means 'wood-pigeon,' hence the pun.

5. illud: referring, as often, to what follows.

6. quantumvis: see note on p. 70. 16, end. **essedario**: see note on p. 61. 17.

8. indulsisset rudem: *discharged; indulgeo* with accusative of the thing is post-Augustan. For the word *rudis*, see note on p. 5. 24.

10. edidit: *i.e.* in the triumph after his return from Britain.

13. Fucinum lacum: see note on p. 89. 17.

14. naumachiam: 52 A.D. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 56, gives a detailed account of this sham naval battle. *Naumachia* means either the exhibition itself, as here, or the place where it was held; see note on p. 39. 13.

15. morituri te salutan: this is usually quoted in the first person, *salutamus*, the form in which it is given by Dio, lx. 33.

16. aut non: *sc. morituri me salutant;* the emperor meant that some would be victorious and so not perish. The combatants understood the expression in the sense, 'or rather those not to die,' applying it to their whole number, and considering that they were excused from fighting. The reading of the text is that of Roth, following the best manuscripts. The reading *avete vos* is from the fifteenth century manuscripts and editions. In this case the emperor is simply returning the salutation. The literal meaning is, however, 'be well,' 'be safe,' or 'be sound,' and the gladiators understood it as dismissing them.

19. vacillatione: *tottering steps;* due to his weak knees, as stated

in *Claud.* chap. 30. 24. **foeda**: as being the result of his dissipations; *cf.* Dio, lx. 2.

22. duodenarum: Dio, lx. 33, says that the number of ships was fifty on each side. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 56, gives the number of combatants as nineteen thousand.

25. circa: see Introd. II. § 5 (1). **civilemque et militarem morem**: *civil and military regulations.*

28. cooptandis: *cooptare* is strictly used of a body choosing its own members. The colleges nominally did the electing, but the emperor's nomination was equivalent to an appointment.

30. quotiens . . . movisset: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

32. obsecratio: *a public prayer.*

Page 92. **2. praeiret**: the proper word to indicate the utterance of a formula which others are to repeat; *cf. sacramentum praeire.* The taking of such an oath is expressed by *in verba iurare.* **summotaque,** *etc.*: *i.e.* that the holy rites might not be defiled by their presence; *cf.* Horace, *Od.* iii. 1. 1:

Odi profanum volgus et arceo!
Favete linguis.

3. rerum actum: on the meaning, see note on p. 85. 24. **divisum antea,** *etc.*: *i.e.* there had been but the summer and winter sessions, interrupted by the spring and autumn vacations. The sessions probably ran into the autumn and spring, as it is not likely that the whole of these seasons would be devoted to vacation. We might even assume that the year was divided into halves, one winter and one summer, for the transaction of legal business; *cf.* this division of the year for military and judicial purposes in the provinces, Cic. *Att.* v. 14. 2. At any rate, Claudius now instituted one continuous session, and the holidays at the beginning of the year were emphasized to the exclusion of others; *cf. Galba* 14, *sed et concessum a Claudio beneficium, ne hieme initioque anni ad iudicandum evocarentur, eripuit.* The ordinary midsummer vacation (*cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 21. 2) was also observed more or less strictly. Even as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius, it was not obligatory to appear in court at that season (*Dig.* ii. 12. 1).

4. fidei commissis: these are bequests left for the heir to fulfil. From the text we should simply understand that the magistrates had been given special jurisdiction in the matter each year, but that they now received regular jurisdiction and that the power was extended to the *praesides* of provinces. As a matter of fact, Augustus had given

this duty as a power *extra ordinem* to the consuls, and Claudius now appointed two praetors to have ordinary jurisdiction; *cf. Dig.* i. 2. 2, § 32.

8. **Papiae Poppaeae legis**; see note on p. 21. 22.

10. **tutores a consulibus darentur**: if there was no *tutor testamentarius*, or *legitimus*, according to the terms of the Atilian law, the *praetor urbanus* (or tribunes) was to appoint one. The duty was now assigned, *extra ordinem*, to the consul. In the time of Marcus Aurelius a regular *praetor tutelarius* was appointed.

16. **commeatus a senatu**, *etc.*: to give the matter a legal appearance he had this power given him every year by a *senatus consultum*; Dio, lx. 25.

17. **beneficii sui fecit**: Introd. II. § 2, *d*.

18. **procuratoribus ducenariis**: procurators receiving a salary of 200,000 sesterces. A fixed salary was given the procurators as well as the governors of provinces; *cf.* Dio, liii. 15, who also clearly explains the expression in the text by the remark, "procurators were even named from the sum they received."

24. **Appium Caecum**: see *Tib.* chap. 2. 1.

25. **filios in senatum**, *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 24, where Claudius, in a speech in favor of giving the right of holding office to the nobility of Gallia Comata, says, "For magistracies to be intrusted to the children of freedmen is no innovation, as many are erroneously persuaded, but a constant practice of the former Romans."

26. **temporibus Appi et deinceps**: from this it would appear that in the time of Appius the word *libertinus* meant the son of a *libertus*, and was not a synonym for *libertus*. It is to be noted, however, that such is not the meaning of the word in any Roman writings extant. A liberated slave is termed *libertinus* when described in reference to his social position, but *libertus* when spoken of with reference to his former master.

29. **pro stratura viarum**: *in place of contributing for the paving of roads.* This change was made 47 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xi. 22.

30. **detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia**: he took from them their official duties at Ostia and in Gaul, *i.e.* cisalpine Gaul. These duties had been assigned them by Augustus, but they were in fact the two remaining Italian quaestorships, established in 267 B.C. The duties of the quaestors of Ostia were particularly arduous, as this was the port of Rome. There seems to be no authority for the statement that the *provincia Ostiensis* included the duty of supervising the water supply of Rome. **curam aerarii Saturni**: *cf. Aug.* 36,

auctor fuit . . . ut cura aerari a quaestoribus urbanis ad praetorios praetoresve transiret. During the republic quaestors had charge of the public treasury. Two aediles were given temporary charge by Caesar. The different changes from that time are stated by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 29. Augustus first allowed the senate to choose praefects of the treasury. As intrigue was employed in their selection, they were afterward drawn by lot from the praetors. This often resulted in the appointment of incompetent men, so that Claudius restored the quaestors. The quaestors lacked experience, however, and Nero chose such as had passed the praetorship and were of tried ability.

32. praetura functi: the expression *praetura, consulatu, etc., functi* is often used in the imperial period to distinguish those who had actually held an office from those who had simply had the title, a distinction not expressed by the words *praetorii, consulares, etc.*

Page 93. **1. ornamenta Silano,** *etc.*: Claudius had done all that he could to make the man popular; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 3. **filiae**: Octavia. Furneaux refers the conferring of the honorary triumph to the year 44 A.D., considering Suetonius' statement, *nondum puberi,* an exaggeration. Dio, lx. 31, however, corroborates Suetonius.

2. maioribus vero natu tam multis: *cf.* Dio, lx. 23: "He not only bestowed the *insignia triumphalia* upon the consulars who had served in the campaign in Britain, but upon senators as well; he was accustomed, in fact, to bestow this honor lavishly, for the most trivial achievements."

4. ut legatis consularibus, *etc.*: Tacitus' explanation (*Ann.* xi. 20) of this request is, that generals who did not have the opportunity of gaining this distinction in war tried to secure it in other ways, digging canals, working mines, *etc.*, and thus wore out their soldiers by hard labor.

6. Aulo Plautio: who had command in Britain before the arrival of Claudius, as told in *Claud.* chap. 17. 2 *seq.* **ovationem**: see note on p. 1. 15.

8. latus texit: *walked with him, taking the left side.* This was a mark of respect. The left is the exposed side (since weapons are carried in the right hand), so *latus tegere* means to cover this side. Eutropius, vii. 13, in relating the incident, says, *et conscendenti Capitolium laevus incederet.* *Cf.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5. 17:

> Tires. *ne tamen illi*
> *ut comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses,*
> Ulix. *utne tegam spurco Damae latus?*

9. Chaucis: this tribe dwelt on the coast between the Ems and the Elbe.

11. equestris militias ita ordinavit: *he thus regulated the advancement of those of equestrian rank who were serving in the army.* In the first century of the empire a fixed equestrian *cursus honorum* was developed, at the bottom of which were the *militiae equestres*, including the *praefectura cohortis*, the *tribunatus legionis*, the *tribunatus cohortis vigilum* or *cohortis praetoriae*, the *praefectura alae*, and the *praefectura castrorum.*

12. stipendiaque instituit, *etc.: he instituted a kind of fictitious service, called supernumerary, the title of which could be enjoyed without the performance of actual service. Stipendia et imaginariae militiae genus* is taken as a case of hendiadys.

17. libertinos . . . publicavit: *he confiscated the property of freedmen, etc.* **se . . . agerent**: see note on p. 9. 11 end.

18. ingratos et de quibus, *etc.:* Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 26 and 27, gives the arguments on both sides in the discussion of this question, and states that Claudius allowed no general legislation against the abuse, but directed that each case be considered by itself. Dio, lx. 13, states that Claudius was exceedingly harsh in his treatment of ungrateful freedmen, putting many to death and giving the patrons power to punish others.

19. advocatisque eorum negavit: *and he denied the pleas of their advocates, saying, etc.*

21. insulam Aesculapii: Livy, ii. 5, tells the tradition of the formation of this island. It received its name from the temple of Aesculapius, built upon it in 291 B.C. One end of the island was fashioned to represent the prow of a ship, to perpetuate the memory of the ship in which Aesculapius, in the form of a serpent, was believed to have been brought to the spot. This is now no longer an island, for the smaller channel of the river has been recently filled in.

24. quem: carry over the force of the *si* from *si quis.*

25. viatores: see note on p. 2. 17. **nisi aut pedibus**, *etc.:* as a mark of respect to the towns. It is to be remembered, too, that the streets were very narrow.

30. dumtaxat gentilicia: *at least the names of gentes.*

31. in campo Esquilino: the usual place for executions, outside the *porta Esquilina* and inside the present *Porta Maggiore.*

32. ad curam suam: *i.e.* he had made them imperial provinces, 15 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 76. It was considered an advantage for a province to be transferred to the imperial class.

Page 94. 1. **Lyciis**: a brave warrior tribe occupying a small tract called Lycia, on the southwestern side of Asia Minor.

2. **libertatem ademit**: because, according to Dio, lx. 17, they had slain certain Romans during riots. **Rhodiis . . . reddidit**: 53 A.D. Dio, lx. 24, states that Claudius had deprived them of their liberty because they had crucified some Romans, and Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 58, is authority for the statement that they had been often deprived of their liberty because of internal discord, and had often won it back by their service to the Romans in time of war.

3. **Iliensibus**, *etc.*: their cause was presented by Nero; see *Nero*, chap. 7. 23, and *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58.

6. **Seleuco**: probably Seleucus II., surnamed Callinichus. **ita demum . . . si**: *only on the condition that, etc.*

8. **Iudaeos impulsore Chresto**, *etc.*: for the expulsion of the Jews by Tiberius, see note on p. 22. 1. The tumults referred to were probably due to contentions between the Jews and Christians, for the Romans regarded the latter simply as a sect of the former. By the name *Chrestus*, Suetonius probably refers to Christ, who from the Roman point of view might well be the one who caused the disturbances. The Romans felt nothing but contempt for the Jews, and it is conceivable that Suetonius, though he had heard of Christ, was not aware that he had been executed in the reign of Tiberius and that he had never been at Rome. Both Tertullian, *Apol.* 3, and Lactantius, *Instit.* iv. 7. 5, testify that the Romans, in their ignorance, used the forms *Chrestus* and *Chrestiani*. Dio, lx. 6, states that Claudius, finding the number of Jews at Rome so great that they could not be expelled without causing tumults, simply forbade those who observed the Jewish rites meeting together. Dio probably refers to the Christians as well as the Jews, for he never uses the former name. *Cf.* Orosius, vii. 6. 16, who quotes these words of Suetonius and thus comments upon them: *quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes Iudaeos coerceri et comprimi iusserit, an etiam Christianos simul velut cognatae religionis homines voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur.*

12. **popularia**: *sc. locā*, seats assigned to the masses. **cum animadvertissent**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 54, refers this incident to the reign of Nero.

15. **Druidarum religionem**: according to Pliny, *N. H.* xxx. 13, Tiberius, too, had tried to stamp this out in Gaul.

17. **penitus abolevit**: it is none the less heard of afterward in Gaul. **sacra Eleusinia**: the festival held at Athens and Eleusis in honor of Demeter, Persephoné, and Iacchus.

19. Veneris Erycinae: Mt. Eryx in Sicily was famous for its temple of Venus. Suetonius says *in Sicilia*, because at Rome, also, there was a temple of *Venus Erycina.*

21. vetere fetialium praefatione: for this old formula, see Livy, i. 24.

23. uxorum libertorumque arbitrio: *cf. Claud.* chap. 28.

24. ubique plerumque: *in almost all matters.*

27. Augusti proneptem: she was the daughter of Julia, granddaughter of Augustus.

29. Camilli: the celebrated Roman who, according to legend, after being exiled by his countrymen, came to their relief when Rome was in the hands of the Gauls, 390 B.C. Camillus lived to an advanced age, and was closely connected with almost all important events and reforms of his time.

30. parentes eius Augustum offenderant: her father, L. Paulus, had conspired against him (*Aug.* 19), while the mother gave offence because of her wanton life (*Aug.* 65).

32. Plautiam Urgulanillam: probably the daughter of M. Plautus Silvanus, who served with distinction in Dalmatia.

Page 95. **1. Aeliam Paetinam:** all that is known of her is that she belonged to the family of the Tuberones; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 1.

5. Barbati Messalae: M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, who had been consul in 7 A.D.

7. C. Silio etiam nupsisse: Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 26 and 27, after telling of the marriage, says that it may seem incredible that such a marriage, with all the usual forms observed, could take place. He vouches for the truth of the story, however. For the story that Claudius was cognizant of the marriage at the time, see *Claud.* chap. 29. 15.

8. inter auspices: this expression indicates that all the usual forms were observed, for the *auspices* not only attended to the religious part of the ceremony, but saw that the marriage contract was duly signed, *etc.*; *cf.* the passage of Tacitus cited above. **supplicio adfecit:** 48 A.D. The story of her last moments is vividly told by Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 37 and 38.

12. nec durare valuit: Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 1, states that on the death of Messalina the different freedmen began their intrigues to provide another wife for Claudius (*Claudio, caelibis vitae intoleranti et coniugum imperiis obnoxio*). Of the competing women, he says, the greatest rivalry was between Lollia Paulina and Julia Agrippina,

daughter of Germanicus. Pallas supported the cause of the latter and Callistus that of the former. **condicionibus**: *alliances.*

13. etiam de Paetinae: *sc. condicione.* On *Paetina*, see note on p. 95. 1. **Lolliae Paulinae**: daughter of M. Lollius, of consular rank. Pliny, *N. H.* ix. 117, speaks of the magnificence of her jewels. Suetonius, *Calig.* chap. 25, states that she had married C. Memmius, governor of a military province (supposed to be a mistake, and that the husband's name was P. Memmius Regulus), and that she had been taken from him by Gaius, who soon repudiated her.

15. per ius osculi, *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 3, who states that she constantly came to him under the cloak of kinship, and exercised over him all the influence of a wife even before their marriage.

16. subornavit, *etc.*: in Tacitus' account (*Ann.* xii. 5, 6, and 7), it is Vitellius who addresses the senate and urges the marriage. Much adulation on the part of the senators followed the speech, and some went so far as to advise violence to force Claudius to marry.

17. ad ducendum eam: as a rule only the genitive and ablative of the gerund and the latter without a preposition admit a direct object.

18. dandamque ceteris veniam, *etc.*: in Tacitus' account it is Claudius himself who addresses the senate on this point.

22. altero primipilari: *and a second who held the rank of captain of the first maniple.* His name was Alledius Severus, and he did this to curry favor with Agrippina; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 7. For the meaning of *primipilaris*, see note on p. 53. 30.

28. in sublime iactato et hiatu oris excepto: *which he had tossed in the air and had caught in his mouth.*

30. filiam Seiani despondisset: there had apparently already been an informal expression of such intention when the daughter of Sejanus was but a mere infant, in 20 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 29. The proposed match aroused considerable discontent, because Sejanus was not of high birth and because it seemed to give Sejanus excessive influence. The daughter met her death at the time of her father's fall.

32. Botere: of this man nothing further is known.

Page 96. **1. alique coeptam**: Claudius had probably formally acknowledged (*tollere*) her; *cf.* note on p. 109. 5.

2. Pompeio Magno: the cognomen *Magnus* had evidently been restored to the family. It had been taken away by Caligula; *cf. Calig.* chap. 35. 1.

3. Fausto Sullae: Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, consul 52 A.D.; put to death by Nero, 62 A.D.

4. Octaviam Neroni, *etc.*: this was the work of Agrippina; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 3. Nero was sixteen years old at the time of the marriage, 48 A.D.

5. inque secundo consulatu: this seems to be a mistake, for the second consulship of Claudius was held, 42 A.D., in the second year of his principate. The appending of *-que* to a preposition is not common in prose.

7. per spectacula gremio aut ante se retinens: *holding him in his lap during the games or lifting him up in his arms.*

9. faustisque ominibus, *etc.*: *and he used to express hopes for his happy future, in which he was joined by the applauding crowds.*

10. Neronem adoptavit: 50 A.D. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 25, states that Pallas was largely instrumental in bringing this about and gives the arguments which he used on the occasion. Dio, lx. 33, makes the adoption precede the marriage. Claudius, to avoid having the marriage appear that of a brother with a sister, had Octavia adopted by another family. **Pompeium atque Silanum . . . interemit**: see *Claud.* chap. 29. 4.

12. praecipue suspexit Posiden: *Posides was an especial favorite.* Posides was one of Claudius' influential freedmen. His extravagance took the form of a passion for building. Juvenal, xiv. 91, mentions him in this connection; while Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi. 5, speaks of *aquae Posidionae*, which were evidently baths constructed by him at Baiae.

14. hasta pura: usually granted by a general to a soldier for having saved the life of a fellow-citizen. Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 21, terms it a *servati civis decus.* **Felicem**: M. Antonius Felix, brother of Pallas and procurator of Judaea; another notorious freedman of Claudius. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9, thus characterizes him: *Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit.* He is mentioned in *Acts*, xxiii. and xxiv.

16. trium reginarum maritum: but two of his wives are known, both named Drusilla; the first a daughter of Herod Agrippa I. and former wife of Azizus, king of Emesa; the second, a granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra. **Harpocran**: mentioned elsewhere only in the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca.

18. Polybium ab studiis: *Polybius his literary adviser.* This is the Polybius to whom Seneca addressed his *Consolatio.* Messalina, who had an intrigue with him, caused his death; *cf.* Dio, lx. 31. In

such expressions as *servus*, *etc.*, *ab studiis*, *ab epistulis*, *a rationibus*, *etc.*, the Latin conception is, a slave from the point of view of studies, correspondence, accounts, *etc.*; *cf.* note on p. 138. 28.

20. Narcissum: the chief factor in the fall of Messalina. He was put to death in the reign of Nero by the machinations of Agrippina; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1. **Pallantem**: brother of Felix, and notorious for his haughtiness and great wealth. He never deigned to speak to his own freedmen, but indicated his wishes by gestures or in writing; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 23. **a rationibus**: *accountant.*

22. quaestoriis praetoriisque: these distinctions did not confer the rank, but entitled the recipients to wear the dress and sit at festivals with persons of that rank. Claudius appears to have been the first to confer such honors upon freedmen. In the time of the republic, such marks of favor, rarely given, were restricted to senators. Tiberius was the first to bestow the honor upon any one below senatorial rank. He gave the *praetoria ornamenta* to Sejanus, a knight.

23. acquirere et rapere: *sc. passus est.*

24. fisci: in the time of the empire, *fiscus*, the imperial treasury, is to be distinguished from the *aerarium*, or public treasury. **non absurde**: *not without point.*

25. in consortium: *into partnership.*

27. ministrum egit: see note on p. 9. 11. **compendio cuiusque**, *etc.*: *as it suited the advantage, or even the wish or the mere whim of each of these.* The ablatives are causal.

30. insciens plerumque et ignarus: *unaware and ignorant for the most part of what he was doing.*

31. revocatas liberalitates, *etc.*: appositives to *minora.*

32. suppositos aut etiam palam, *etc.*: *the substitution of false letters patent, or flagrant changes made in those already granted.*

Page 97. **1. Appium Silanum**: Dio, lx. 14, relates that he was married by Claudius to the mother of Messalina. He was put to death because he rejected the advances of the latter.

2. consocerum: *one of his fathers-in-law.* His son had been betrothed to Claudia. Note how rich the Latin language is in words indicating degrees of relationship. **Iuliasque**, *etc.*: they had been exiled by Gaius and recalled by Claudius.

4. maioris filiae: Antonia, daughter of Claudius and Petina.

5. L. Silanum minoris sponsum: betrothed to Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina. For the charges brought against him, and his death, see Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4 and 8.

9. amplius: *amplius* without *quam*; for the origin of the construction, see *Appendix to Bennett's Lat. Gram.* 334.

14. ultro: *i.e.* without waiting for orders.

15. excesserit: potential subjunctive. Tacitus, however, vouches for the truth of the story.

17. inductus, quasi de industria simularentur, *etc.*: *induced to do it, because the marriage was purposely being feigned, as people said, etc.* The subject of *simularentur* is *nuptiae* understood. On the clause *quasi . . . simularentur*, see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

18. transferendum: *i.e.* to the new husband. **quod imminere ipsi,** *etc.*: *i.e.* which threatened him (Claudius) as the husband of Messalina.

20. non defuit ei, verum stanti, *etc.*: *was not lacking in him, but this was the case only when he was standing still or sitting, or especially when sleeping.* When walking, or engaged in any occupation, he was awkward and lacked dignity. The meaningless manuscript reading is, *non defuit et veterum stanti vel sedenti.* Roth gives *non defuit vel stanti vel sedenti*, marking a lacuna after *defuit.* The reading of the text is the plausible conjecture of Oudendorp and Bentley.

21. prolixo nec exili, *etc.*: *tall, but not slight, with a pleasing expression and becoming white hair; his neck was thick.* In prose, *cervices*, the plural, is ordinarily employed, though there are numerous exceptions to this rule.

25. multa dehonestabant: Dio, lx. 2, mentions his trembling hands and head and his stammering tongue. Juvenal, vi. 623, emphasizes the *spumante rictu.*

26. risus indecens, *etc.*: *unseemly in his laughter, quite disgusting in his wrath, for he then foamed at the mouth and trickled at the nose.* **turpior**: agrees with *ira.*

29. vel maxime tremulum: *exceedingly tremulous, indeed; vel* is intensive.

30. stomachi dolore: caused probably by indigestion. In Latin the word *stomachus* is not applied to the abdomen (*venter*).

Page 98. **2. sesceni**: note the force of the distributive, 'on each occasion.'

6. more vetere: this custom is explained by Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 16, *mos habebatur principum liberos cum ceteris idem aetatis nobilibus sedentes vesci; in aspectu propinquorum, propria et parciore mensa.* In the passage *qui more vetere, etc.*, the relative is lacking in the

Memmian and other manuscripts. The Gudianus inserts an *ut* after *vetere.* In view of these facts, Ihm suggests that *qui* was lacking in the archetype, and that *ut* had fallen out after *nobilibus.* It seems safer, however, to follow Paris 6116, with Roth.

7. **convivae**: his name was T. Vinius; *cf.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 48.

11. **cognoscens**: here used with its technical meaning. **Augusti foro**: the second of the imperial *fora* built at Rome, the first being the *forum Iulii*, constructed by Julius Caesar. The *forum Augusti* was northeast of the old forum, separated from it by the *forum Iulii.* It was here that Augustus built the *Aedes Martis* mentioned below; *cf.* note on p. 66. 3.

13. **Saliis**: the banquets prepared for the Salian priests were proverbial for their magnificence; *cf.* Hor. *Carm.* i. 37. 2. These were served after the annual procession on the first of March, the anniversary of the falling of the sacred shield from heaven.

14. **temere umquam**: *scarcely ever.*

17. **somni brevissimi**: the genitive is predicative; see Introd. II. § 2, *d.*

18. **ut tamen**: *notwithstanding which;* lit. 'so that nevertheless.'

23. **essedo**: see note on p. 53. 2. **alveoque**: the *alveus* was a gambling table or board, and in the present instance was swung in some manner so as to be unaffected by the motion of the carriage.

25. **poenasque parricidarum**: parricides were flogged, sewed in a bag with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and thrown into the sea. Seneca, *De Clem.* i. 23, remarks that more parricides were punished in this way under Claudius than in all preceding ages.

26. **repraesentabat exigebatque coram**: *was wont to exact at once and in his presence.*

27. **antiqui moris supplicium**: explained by Eutropius, vii. 15: *quae poena erat talis, ut nudus per publicum ductus furca capiti eius inserta, virgis usque ad mortem caederetur atque ita praecipitaretur de saxo; i.e.* from the Tarpeian rock. As a matter of course, when the execution did not take place at Rome, the body could not be hurled from the Tarpeian rock. *Cf.* also Nero, chap. 49, 14 *seq.*

28. **Tiburi**: see note on p. 45. 29.

29. **vesperam usque**: *usque* with an accusative of words other than the names of towns is post-Augustan.

31. **munere**: ablative of time.

32. **retiarios**: see note on p. 59. 4.

Page 99. 3. **meridianis**: the gladiators who fought at midday,

after the combats of wild beasts, were called *meridiani*. For a criticism of these midday combats, see Seneca, *Epist.* 7. On Claudius' passion for gladiatorial combats, *cf.* Dio, lx. 13.

7. id genus: see Bennett, *Lat. Gram.* 185, 1.

8. automaton vel pegma: see Introd. II. § 1, *a* (1).

9. nomenculatoribus: the more common form is *nomenclator.* This was a slave, a sort of master of ceremonies, or usher, whose chief duty was to keep his master informed as to the names of his visitors.

11. nihil aeque quam timidus, *etc.*: Dio, lx. 2, states that Claudius was incapable of forming any rational judgment, when seized with his frequent fits of fear, and that his intimates took advantage of this terror to forward their own interests.

12. quamquam . . . iactator civilitatis: *though he made a show of affability.* He was, as the Romans said, *civilis, i.e.* conducted himself as an ordinary citizen. As examples of this unassuming spirit in Claudius, Dio, lx. 3, cites the fact that he harbored no resentment against those who had desired the reëstablishment of the republic at the time of his accession, nor against his possible rivals for the principate.

13. nisi ut: *except on condition that;* see note on p. 10. 8. **speculatores**: see note on p. 66. 1.

16. nisi explorato, *etc.*: for construction, see note on p. 65. 30.

19. sero enim ac vix remisit, *etc.*: *with reluctance and only after a long time, did he permit women, etc., to be excused from, etc.*

20. contrectarentur: *i.e.* to see whether they carried concealed weapons.

21. ne cuius comiti aut librario: *from each one's attendant or scribe.* **calamariae aut graphiariae thecae**: *pen and style cases.* The *calamus* was of reed and the *stilus* of metal or ivory.

22. motu civili: see *Claud.* chap. 13. 32. Dio, lx. 15, says that Claudius, just before Camillus committed suicide, had almost been induced by terror to give up to him the principate.

23. citra bellum: see Introd. II. § 5 (1).

26. dubitavit: *i.e.* he seriously considered doing it.

27. insidias temere delatas: *unconfirmed rumors of conspiracies.*

28. ut supra rettuli: see *Claud.* chap. 13. 24.

Page 100. **1. indignitate contumeliarum**: *in consequence of her unbecoming and disrespectful conduct toward him;* lit. 'the unworthiness of her insubordinate conduct.' For *contumeliarum*, see Introd. II. § 1, *d.*

2. **periculi metu**: he was so terrified that he asked whether he was an emperor or Silius, a mere private citizen; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xi. 31.

3. **Silio**: dative of interest. **acquiri**: *i.e.* by Messalina.

6. **tam levis . . . compelleretur**, *etc.*: *too insignificant to force him on the slightest provocation to have recourse to measures of precaution and vengeance.*

8. **seducto**: *sc. Claudio.*

10. **libellum tradentem**: *i.e.* he was pointed out when in the very act of handing in a petition in regard to his case.

11. **adversarium**: *i.e.* his opponent in a lawsuit.

12. **pro deprenso**: *as though caught in the act.*

13. **Appium Silanum**: see note on p. 97. 1.

15. **patroni**: *i.e.* Claudius.

17. **in admirationem formata**: *with feigned surprise.*

19. **irrumpere . . . nuntiatus**: *it was announced, according to a prearranged plan, that Appius was forcing his way in.*

20. **quasi plane repraesentaretur**, *etc.*: *as though this, indeed, were palpable proof of the truth of the dream; i.e.* his appearance just at that moment aroused the emperor's suspicions that the dream was on the point of being fulfilled.

24. **irae atque iracundiae**: *rage and irascibility.*

29. **eaque cum invidia ut**, *etc.*: *casting such odium upon them, that he composed a statement to the effect that he had been degraded, and yet he suddenly forgave them, almost in the manner of one making reparation for an injury done.* **ut in ordinem coactum**: originally perhaps a military term, 'réduce to the ranks.'

30. **tantum non**: see note on p. 36. 25.

32. **scribam quaestorium**: see note on p. 77. 1.

Page 101. 2. **affuisset**: the word has its legal meaning. He had appeared in a case as counsel, and had not shown the emperor sufficient consideration.

3. **contra vetitum cocta**: *i.e.* cooked victuals offered for sale contrary to law. For the sumptuary laws governing the sale of cooked victuals, *cf. Tib.* chap. 34. 6, and *Nero*, chap. 16. 3. Offended by the brachylogy, Polac supplies *petita* after *vetitum.* Ihm thinks *proposita* more likely. If anything is to be supplied, the latter is preferable. It seems dangerous, however, to deviate from the manuscripts.

4. **vilicum**: Claudius' steward.

9. **susceptam stationem**: *the position which he had attained.*

11. **cui index erat Μωρῶν ἐπανάστασις**, *etc.*: *the title of which*

was the elevation of fools and which went to prove that no one feigns folly. *Autem* is adversative, contrasting *argumentum* (theme) with *index* (title). The Greek is explained, by a gloss in the Memm. manuscript, as *exaltatio stultorum.*

14. **μετεωρίαν**: *forgetfulness;* used as a synonym of *oblivionem;* it strictly means wavering of the mind.

15. **ἀβλεψίαν**: *blindness; i.e.* mental blindness, and is synonymous with *inconsiderantiam*, 'lack of reflection.' **occisa Messalina,** *etc.:* Tacitus' account (*Ann.* xi. 38) of Claudius' conduct is somewhat different. The news of her death was brought him while he was feasting. It was not stated whether she had been put to death or had committed suicide, nor did Claudius ask; he called for his goblet and went on feasting and drinking.

16. **domina**: for the word *dominus*, see note on p. 18. 7. Presumably *domina* was used in quite the same way when applied to a woman.

17. **multos ex iis,** *etc.:* most of these executions were ordered by Claudius when in a state of terror aroused by his freedmen or Messalina. When he returned to his senses he would call for those whom he had murdered, and when cognizant of the fact, would be filled with remorse and grief; Dio, lx. 14.

19. **quasi morarentur**: see Introd. II. § 3, *b* (4).

20. **ducturus contra fas,** *etc.:* the above-mentioned incidents are examples of *oblivio;* the following of his *inconsiderantia.* For *dicturus*, see Introd. II. § 4, *a*.

23. **quasi parum reprehenderetur**: *as though it were not already sufficiently reprehensible.* The clause *quod . . . adoptaret* is the subject of *reprehenderetur.*

28. **nec quis**: *i.e.* not mindful of what was becoming in an emperor.

32. **offula**: *a snack;* a vulgar word.

Page 102. 3. **frigidam**: *sc. aquam.* Introd. II. § 1, *e.*

5. **ornatrix**: *coiffeuse.*

6. **quidam sunt,** *etc.:* referring to the overbearing conduct of his freedmen.

9. **demereatur**: *oblige;* a meaning not given the word before the Augustan age.

12. **Telegenius**: the name of some worthless individual.

13. **nedum**: *much more.*

16. **hortante T. Livio**: Livy, the famous historian, who died in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, at which time Claudius was twenty-seven years old. **Sulpicio Flavo**: otherwise unknown.

19. commisisset: *began*, *i.e.* to read. **refrigeratus saepe a semet ipso**: *and was himself the cause of chilling the interest in many parts of it; i.e.* any applause that he might have gained was prevented by his own conduct, as described below.

23. ex intervallo subinde: *at frequent intervals.* **cachinnosque revocaret**: *and again burst into loud laughter.*

27. sed et: *but then;* Madvig would strike out *et* as being a repetition of the last two letters of the preceding word, *sed*, spelled *set* in the manuscripts. **coepitque a pace civili**: *and made it begin after the end of the civil wars.*

30. ab avia: Octavia, sister of Augustus.

32. magis inepte quam ineleganter: *inepte* refers to the thought, *ineleganter* to the style.

Page 103. **2. Asini Galli**: son of the orator, Asinius Gallus.

3. litteras tres: these were Ⅎ, the inverted digamma, to represent the semi-consonantal sound of *v* and distinguish it from the vowel *u*. This letter is found in several inscriptions of the time of Claudius; Ↄ the antisigma, to express the sound of *ps* or *bs*; and ├, the Greek sign of the rough breathing, to express the sound of the Greek *υ* (French *U*). The last two characters rarely occur; Ↄ perhaps never.

4. de quarum ratione: *on their raison d'être.*

7. diurnis: *sc. actis;* see note on p. 4. 23. Tacitus, too, *Ann.* xi. 14, says that the characters were used during the reign of Claudius, but soon fell into disuse. They were to be seen engraved on bronze tablets affixed in public places.

15. perpetua oratione respondit: *replied in a well-sustained speech; sc.* in Greek.

18. excubitori tribuno: the commander of that portion of the praetorians on guard at the palace.

19. non temere aliud: *generally nothing else.*

20. ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, *etc.*: *to defend myself against a man who without cause does me harm; Od.* xvi. 72; from Telemachus' speech to the stranger.

21. Tyrrhenicon: Greek genitive plural, Τυρρηνικῶν, 'on Tuscan history.'

22. Carchedoniacon: *i.e.* Καρχηδονιακῶν, 'on Carthaginian history.'

23. Museo Claudieum additum, *etc.*: Roth, with the manuscripts, reads *Musio additum*, but in his critical apparatus suggests the word *Claudieum* to supply the lacuna.

25. **velut in auditorio**: *as in a public lecture room.*

27. **signa quaedam**, *etc.*: *cf.* Dio's account, lx. 34, "Claudius, indeed, began to hear of Agrippina's conduct, and was provoked by it. Moreover, he missed Britannicus, whom Agrippina purposely kept from his sight, endeavoring in every way to advance her own son Nero. Claudius decided not to endure this longer, but to displace Agrippina, and appoint his own son as his successor."

30. **cognitionem**: *trial.*

31. **sibi quoque in fatis**, *etc.*: *that it was his fate to find all his wives faithless, but not to let them escape unpunished*; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 64.

Page 104. 2. **et subinde obvium sibi**, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 65, attributes about the same conduct to Pallas, the freedman.

3. **rationemque a se**, *etc.*: *i.e.* he would hand over the power to him.

5. **ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται**: *he who had inflicted the wound, will also cure it, i.e.* the wound inflicted by the adoption of Nero. Telephus, wounded by Achilles, was informed by an oracle in these words quoted by Claudius, that only the 'wounder' could heal him.

6. **quando statura permitteret**: he was tall for his years. **quando**: *since.*

7. **verum Caesarem**: one of the real line and not Caesars by adoption, as were Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero.

11. **quam praeter haec**, *etc.*: *who, in addition to all this, was being accused of many crimes, not only by the informers, but by her own conscience as well.*

14. **et veneno quidem occisum**, *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 66 and 67, the poison was prepared by a woman named Locusta, who even then was under sentence for poisoning. It was administered by Claudius' *praegustator*, Halotus, in a dish of mushrooms. A poison had been selected which would act slowly and cloud the mind. Because of Claudius' sluggish temperament it failed to act as was anticipated, and then Xenephon, his physician, under pretence of relieving the stomach, inserted a poisoned feather in his throat. Dio, lx. 34, states that Locusta prepared the poison and that Agrippina administered it in a dish of mushrooms. He does not mention Halotus or Xenephon.

15. **in arce**: *i.e.* in the Capitol.

16. **praegustatorem**: it was the custom to maintain a slave whose duty it was to taste the food of the emperor or princes, as a precaution against poisoning.

23. incertum pultine addito, *etc.: there being doubt as to whether it was put in his porridge, or administered in a clyster. Addito* agrees with *toxico.*

25. laboranti . . . subveniretur: *relief might be given him when suffering*, etc.

27. circa successorem: Introd. II. § 5 (1).

30. excessit III Id. Octob.: 54 A.D.

32. funeratus est, *etc.: cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 69; also Dio, lx. 35, "All the honors were decreed him which had been granted Augustus. Agrippina and Nero pretended to mourn him whom they had slain, and lifted to the skies him whom they had lifted from his own table. Seneca, indeed, wrote a book entitled *Apocolocyntōsis*, or the Consecration of the Pumpkin. . . . Nero's *bon mot* is also worth repeating. He said that mushrooms were divine food, since Claudius, by eating them, became a god."

Page 105. **3. abolitumque**: as *-que* is wanting in the best manuscripts, Becker regards *oblitum* as a gloss. It seems hardly safe to follow him, however. **per Vespasianum**: *cf. Vesp.* 9, *fecit . . . (templum) divi Claudi in Caelio monte coeptum quidem ab Agrippina, sed a Nerone prope funditus destructum.*

4. praesagia mortis: Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 64, mentions also the birth of monstrosities of nature, and the settling of a swarm of bees on the Capitol. Dio, lx. 35, in addition mentions a shower that resembled blood.

5. quam cometen vocant: Becker appears justified in regarding these words as a gloss.

6. monumentum Drusi: this may have been the altar erected in Germany in his honor, mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 7.

7. ex omnium magistratuum genere plerique: *many magistrates of all classes.*

9. aliquot quidem argumentis: *which is proved by several facts.* Ablative absolute.

12. liberos: Britannicus, his own son, and Nero, his adopted son.

13. aetatem: *i.e.* their youth.

15. quamquam abominantibus, *etc.: although those who heard deprecated with horror any such idea.* The construction is ablative absolute with *quamquam.* See note on p. 65. 30, and Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

NERO—EMPEROR, 54–68 A.D.

Sources: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii.–xvi., or to the year 66. Suetonius. Dio, lxi.–lxiii., in the abridgment of Xiphilin.

Agrippina had poisoned Claudius soon after she had prevailed upon him to disregard his own son Britannicus and to adopt her son Nero. The latter was immediately proclaimed emperor by the praetorians. At first Nero allowed affairs to be managed by his imperious mother, by Seneca, his tutor, and by Burrus, the praefect of the guards. During these years the finances were well managed, the senate treated with consideration, and administrative reforms instituted. After the murder of Agrippina, the death of Burrus, and the retirement of Seneca, Nero fell under the influence of Tigellinus, his *praefectus praetorio*, and of his freedmen. The treasury was depleted, the coinage debased, and the senate disregarded. The city was laid waste by a conflagration, which popular rumor attributed to Nero. The Christians, whose name now first appears in history, were charged with the deed by Nero, and prosecuted.

In the suppression of the conspiracy of Piso, many eminent men perished, notably Seneca and Lucan. Owing to the widespread discontent, Vindex, governor of Gaul, revolted, and was joined by Galba, governor of Lusitania. Verginius Rufus, with the legions of Upper Germany, defeated Vindex, but the victorious troops themselves turned against Nero. Amid these disturbances he fell by his own hand.

Page 106. **6. Aenobarborum**: *aeneus* and *barba*, 'brazen-bearded.' A family name of the Domitian gens.

8. iuvenes gemini: the *Dioscuri*, Castor and Pollux.

9. augustiore: *sc. humana (forma)*, an ablative after the comparative. **ex occursu**: equivalent to *cum obvii facti essent.*

10. nuntiaret: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (6). **victoriam**: the victory of the Romans over the Latins, at Lake Regillus, 498 B.C. (traditional chronology). Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, ii. 6, in speaking of the appearance of gods on earth, cites this instance: *apud Regillum . . . in nostrā acie Castor et Pollux ex equis pugnare visi sunt.*

11. in fidem: equivalent to *ut fidem facerent.*

14. functi . . . septem: Velleius, ii. 10, remarks upon the small number and upon the distinction of the Domitian gens. According to him, the seven who were consuls were the only sons of their respective fathers, and almost all received the honor of a triumph.

15. triumpho: gained by the Aenobarbus, mentioned below, consul, 122 B.C., for a victory over the Allobroges and Arvernians.

16. inter patricios adlecti: on the significance of *adlegere* as a technical term, see note on p. 1. 11.

18. notabili varietate: *in a strikingly irregular manner.*

19. per trinas personas: *i.e.* three individuals in succession had the same name. Note the distributive *trinas.*

22. ex ordine: *successively.*

24. referre: from the impersonal *rēfert.*

Page 107. **1. ut tamen**: he had retained family traits, but only the bad ones.

2. altius repetam: the expression *altius repetere* means to trace events from a somewhat remote period; *cf.* Liv. *Praef.*, *ut quae (res) supra septingentesimum annum repetatur.*

3. atavus: the grandfather of a great-grandfather. The order in the ascending scale is *pater*, *avus*, *proavus*, *abavus*, *atavus*, *tritavus.*

5. cooptassent: see note on p. 91. 28.

6. subrogandorum: *subrogare* is to choose in place of another, or to fill a vacancy. It appears that this law is to be attributed to the son, and not the father as stated by Suetonius.

7. Arvernisque: a tribe of central Gaul.

8. per provinciam: *i.e. Gallia Narbonensis; cf.* note on p. 6. 30.

10. Licinius Crassus: Lucius Licinius Crassus, one of the most famous orators who preceded Cicero. He died during the boyhood of the latter, and appears as an interlocutor in the *De Oratore.*

11. os ferreum: the expression means audacity. Terence uses the terms, *os durum* and *os impudens*, with the same force. The best writers also use *os* alone in this sense; *cf.* English 'cheek.'

12. cor plumbeum: apparently, 'a hard heart.' Note the play upon the meaning of *aeneam*, *ferreum*, *plumbeum*, 'bronze,' 'iron,' 'leaden.' **huius filius**: Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus, brother-in-law of M. Cato, was a staunch upholder of the oligarchical party. He was praetor, 58 B.C., and consul, 54 B.C. On the outbreak of the civil war he threw himself into Corfinium, but was compelled to surrender to Caesar. He fell, as narrated below, at the battle of Pharsalia, 48 B.C.; *cf. Iul.* 23.

13. quem adversus auspicia legesque, *etc.*: referring to Caesar's unconstitutional methods in forcing through some of his measures when consul, 59 B.C.

14. ad disquisitionem senatus: *to submit to an investigation of*

his conduct by the senate. It was considered good policy to call a Roman magistrate to account for his conduct only at the expiration of his term.

15. ab exercitibus Gallicis: Caesar had obtained the governorship of cisalpine Gaul, Illyricum, and transalpine Gaul for the space of five years, 58–53 B.C. In 55 B.C. he obtained an extension of this command for five years more, 53–48 B.C.

17. ad Corfinium, *etc.*: Corfinium was a town in the country of the Paeligni; *cf. Iul.* 23. Domitius was caught at Corfinium because of disobedience to the orders of Pompey, who had ordered him to retreat.

19. acie . . . Pharsalica: see note on p. 4. 22.

23. quod . . . temperasset: the story is told at greater length by Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, iii. 24; *cf.* Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 186.

25. de mediis ac neutram partem sequentibus: pleonastic, 'the neutrals who took neither side in the contest.' The expression is also used in *Iul.* 75.

27. procul dubio: the more classical expression is *sine dubio.* The son here mentioned is the Gnaeus Domitius Aenobarbus addressed by Cicero in *Fam.* vi. 22. He was the son of the preceding Domitius, by Portia, sister of Cato, and appears to have been a manly and energetic soldier. Whether he took part in the plot against Caesar is a matter of dispute among historians. It seems safe, however, to accept Suetonius' statement that he had no part in it.

29. lege Pedia: passed, 43 B.C.; it is thus described by Velleius, ii. 69: *at lege Pedia quam consul Pedius conlega Caesaris tulerat, omnibus, qui Caesarem patrem interfecerant, aqua ignique damnatis interdictum erat.* **cum ad Cassium**, *etc.*: Dio, xlviii. 7, says that he gathered a fleet and inflicted severe losses upon Caesar on the Ionian Sea.

Page 108. **1. partibus**: for the plural, see note on p. 4. 6.

2. ingentis meriti loco: *as a great concession; loco* is locative ablative; *in loco* is also used with the same force.

3. amplissimos honores: he held the consulship in 32 B.C.

8. transiit ad Augustum: *cf.* Dio, l. 13: "Domitius, angry because of Cleopatra, deserted to Caesar; although this did not benefit Caesar, because Domitius died soon after, yet it set an example which many followed, for it appeared that the latter had deserted Antony because he despaired of his success."

10. Serviliae Naidis: of this person nothing further is known.

11. emptorem familiae pecuniaeque : *the testamentary executor.* The expression arose from a fiction of Roman law, whereby the testator appeared to sell to the *emptor* that property which, after the testator's death, the *emptor* would dispose of according to the intentions of the deceased. *Familiae* is here, as often in legal phraseology, used to siguify the property.

14. ornamentis triumphalibus : see note on p. 7. 6.

15. ex Germanico bello : in speaking of the campaign, Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 44 (25 A.D.), states that Domitius crossed the Elbe and penetrated Germany farther than any of his predecessors, for which he received the *ornamenta triumphalia.*

16. L. Plancum : this Plancus and his colleague, Paulus Aemilius Lepidus, were the last private citizens to hold the office of censor, 3 B.C. ; see note on p. 86. 30.

22. ex Antonia maiore : Tacitus, iv. 44, makes this woman Antonia the younger, evidently confusing her with her sister. Dio, xlviii. 54, makes her the wife of Nero's grandfather. In such matters it is safer to follow Suetonius, who must have been familiar with the genealogy of the royal families.

25. C. Caesaris : son of Agrippa and Julia ; adopted by Augustus.

26. cohorte : from the military use of the word, meaning praetorian cohort or general's bodyguard, it came to mean retinue of friends. The distinction between the military guard and the retinue of friends is clearly seen in *Calig.* chap. 19. 2.

27. in Viae Appiae vico : *at a village on the Appian Way.*

30. argentarios : the word usually signifies, 'banker.' Here it seems to mean 'silversmith.' The two occupations were probably combined.

32. palmarum : figuratively, 'victories.' He cheated them of the prizes promised. **ob haec et sororis ioco** : *notorious for this, and because of the shafts of ridicule directed against him by his sister. Ioco* is the conjecture of Sabellicus, for *loco* of the manuscripts.

Page 109. **1. factionum** : see note on p. 71. 28. **repraesentanda** : for the meaning of *repraesentare*, see note on p. 88. 26.

2. maiestatis quoque et adulteriorum : according to Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 47, he, with others, was connected by adulterous intercourse with Albucilla. She was charged with disloyalty, and Domitius implicated, 37 A.D.

5. Pyrgis : *Pyrgi*, a town of Etruria, now *San Severo.* **sublato filio** : *having a son. Sublato*, from *tollo*, 'to pick up.' This

expression refers to the well-known custom of the father picking up the infant from the ground and by so doing acknowledging it to be his own.

7. Anti: see note on p. 23. 10.

8. XVIII Kal. Ian.: December 15th. **tantum quod**: *but just;* usually with finite verb; *cf. tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram, etc.*, Cic. *Fam.* vii. 23. 1.

9. terra: best taken as an ablative; *i.e.* he was touched by the rays of the sun before he was placed upon the ground; see note on p. 109. 5. Dio, lxi. 2, among the omens presaging his future greatness, mentions the following: at his birth, which took place before daybreak, the child was surrounded by rays of light, as from the sun, though this was not yet visible.

11. praesagio: dative.

13. malo publico: *with evil to the state*, ablative of attendant circumstance. In this construction, *malum* is the noun and *publicum* the adjective; *cf.* the expression *bono publico.*

15. die lustrico: on the ninth day after birth it was customary to give the Roman boy a *praenomen.* At the ceremony there were certain rites of purification: hence the term *dies lustricus.*

19. Claudius inter ludibria aulae: *cf. Claud.* chap. 3. 19 *seq.*

23. matre . . . relegata: *i.e.* by Caligula.

25. amitam: *aunt*, *i.e.* sister of a father. The sister of a mother was called *matertera.*

28. Crispi Passieni vitrici: on Domitius' death, he married Agrippina.

29. revocatae restitutaeque matris: restored by Claudius.

31. meridiantem: it appears to have been an almost universal custom among the Romans to take a midday nap.

32. additum fabulae, at: *the story continues that they however, etc.* *At* was the conjecture of Roth for *ad* of the Memm. manuscript. It has since been discovered to be the reading of a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Royal Library at Munich. The common lection *est* has inferior manuscript authority.

Page 110. **1. quae fabula exorta est,** *etc.*: *cf.* Dio, lxi. 2, "During his boyhood, the cast-off skin of a serpent was found near the neck of Nero, and this caused the seers to prophesy that in time to come he would receive great power from an old man, since the serpent is supposed to cast off his skin because of age."

8. Troiam: see note on p. 5. 17.

9. **Annaeoque Senecae**: the famous philosopher, tutor of Nero. He was a Stoic, and his fame rests chiefly on his moral treatises. He finally committed suicide at the bidding of his former pupil.

11. **visum sibi per quietem**: *i.e.* he dreamed. **C. Caesari**: Caligula, the mad tyrant.

12. **fidem somnio**, *etc.*: *i.e.* showed that Nero was as bad a pupil as Caligula would have been.

15. **Aenobarbum**: by so calling him, Britannicus seemed to disregard the adoption of Nero by Claudius. Such also is the account of Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 41. **ex consuetudine**: *as a result of habit.* **ut subditivum**: *of being a supposititious child.*

16. **Lepidam**: her illustrious lineage had excited the envy of Agrippina.

17. **coram**: *i.e.* he appeared in person and testified against her.

19. **deductus in forum**: for the significance of this, see note on p. 5. 19; and for the word *tiro*, see note on p. 24. 21. Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 41 (51 A.D.), states that the ceremony was performed while Nero was under age, in order that he might appear qualified to appear in public life.

20. **decursione**: *manœuvres*. According to an arrangement of Augustus, these manœuvres were held thrice a month for the sake of discipline. **scutum sua manu**, *etc.*: this means that he in person directed the manœuvres; *cf. Galba*, 6, *ipse maxime insignis, quod campestrem decursionem scuto moderatus, etc.*

23. **pro Bononiensibus**: *Bononienses*, inhabitants of Bononia, a town of cisalpine Gaul, modern Bologna. This town had been destroyed by fire, and as result of Nero's plea the people were given pecuniary aid in the sum of 10,000,000 sesterces: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xii. 58 (53 A.D.).

24. **auspicatus est**: *he obtained for the first time.*

25. **praefectus urbi**: see note on p. 79. 19. **sacro Latinarum**: *sc. feriarum*, and see note on p. 54. 17. *Sacro* probably refers to the whole ceremony, the most important part of which was, however, the sacrifice (*sacrificium*) of white bulls.

26. **tralaticias**: *trifling.* These cases were ordinarily brought forward merely as a part of the ceremony. Not so in the present instance.

27. **postulationes . . . ingerentibus**: *presenting requests;* Nero was to pass judgment on these.

29. **Octaviam**: the daughter of Claudius and Messalina and sister of Britannicus. Nero was sixteen years old at the time. **circenses** (*sc. ludos*) **et venationem**: for a description of such exhibitions, by Suetonius himself, see *Iul.* 39.

31. de Claudio: *i.e.* concerning his death as narrated in the preceding *Life*. It was concealed until all was ready for the proclamation of Nero as emperor; *cf. Claud.* chap. 45. 26.

32. inter horam sextam septimamque: between 12 and 1 P.M. See note on p. 73. 22. **processit,** *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus' account, *Ann.* xii. 69 (54 A.D.): "At last, on the thirteenth day of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Nero, accompanied by Burrus, went forth to the cohort, which, according to the custom of the army, was keeping watch. There, upon a signal made by the praefect, he was received with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. It was reported that there were some who hesitated, looking back anxiously and frequently asking where Britannicus was, but as no one came forward to oppose it, they embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus Nero was borne to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency, and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late emperor, his father, he was saluted emperor. The choice of the soldiers was followed by the decrees of the senate; nor was there any hesitation in the several provinces." Xiph., lxi. 3, says that this speech delivered to the soldiers had been composed by Seneca, as well as the one made afterward in the senate.

Page 111. **1. diritatem**: *i.e.* the astrologers had announced the conditions unfavorable up to that time. Tacitus states that Agrippina was concealing the news of her husband's death until the astrologers should report favorable conditions.

3. in castra: *i.e.* the permanent camp on the outskirts of Rome. See note on p. 22. 15.

8. orsus hinc, *etc.*: the idea is that he began immediately to make a display of his filial regard.

9. laudavit et consecravit: *cf. Claud.* chap. 45. 1. Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 3, states that as long as Nero stuck to the truth in his eulogy, he was given a serious hearing; but when he fell into arrant flattery, speaking of Claudius' forethought and wisdom, no one could keep back his laughter. This speech had been composed for him by Seneca and in his wonted style, which was much admired at that time.

10. matri summam, *etc.*: *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 2. Xiph., lxi. 3, relates that Agrippina and her son often appeared in public in the same litter; that Agrippina answered ambassadors and sent replies to nations, princes, and kings, and that finally her aspirations were checked by the policy of Burrus and Seneca.

14. Antium: see note on p. 23. 10.

15. per domicilii translationem: *by causing them to change their place of residence; i.e.* from Rome to Antium. This would reflect honor upon the latter.

18. ex Augusti praescripto: Augustus' advice, stated at the close of his *Breviarium* or survey of the empire, was not to extend the boundaries of the empire; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* i. 11.

21. ullam occasionem omisit: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 10 and 11, enumerates the acts calculated to enhance his popularity, and ends with the remark: "Pledging himself to clemency in frequent speeches, which, either to show the purity of the precepts he instilled, or in ostentation of his talents, Seneca gave to the world by the mouth of the emperor." **graviora vectigalia,** *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 31 (57 A.D.), mentions the remission of the duty of 4 per cent on the purchase of slaves. Nero also ordered (*Ann.* xiii. 51) the publication of the schedules of imposts, which hitherto had been kept secret; publicans were not permitted to revive omitted claims more than a year in arrears. Some other reforms did not last after Nero's time, while still others continued in force when Tacitus wrote his *Annals.*

23. praemia delatorum Papiae legis: *the rewards of informers against those who violated the Papian law, i.e.* the *lex Iulia Papia Poppaea*, for which see note on p. 86. 25. **ad quartas**: *sc. partes.* It would appear that the provision of the *lex Iulia*, granting a fourth part of the confiscated property to informers, had been disregarded and a larger share taken. Nero now reduced the amount to the legal fourth part. An instance where all the property was given the successful informer in the reign of Tiberius is cited by Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32.

24. quadringenis nummis: 400 sesterces each; about $20.

25. annua salaria: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 34, states that Messalla was so assisted; also Aurelius Cotta and Haterius Antonius, although these latter had squandered their own fortunes.

26. quingena: *sc. sestertia; 500,000 sesterces*, about $25,000.

27. frumentum . . . gratuitum: before this they had paid the market price, which was kept back from their pay. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72.

29. quam vellem, *etc.*: *cf.* Seneca's account, *De Clem.* ii. 1.

30. subinde ac memoriter: *immediately and unaided; i.e.* he pronounced their names without being prompted by his *nomenclator.*

31. ad campestres exercitationes: on the Campus Martius.

Page 112. **3. aureis litteris**: Xiph., lxi. 3, tells us that Nero's first speech to the senate, the one composed by Seneca, was ordered engraved upon a column of silver.

5. iuvenales . . . ludos: games instituted by Nero in 59 A.D., in honor of the first shaving of his beard. They were celebrated in a private theatre, and by amateurs; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 15, and xv. 33. Xiph. lxi. 19: "He celebrated the Juvenalia on the first shaving of his beard. This beard, enclosed in a golden globe, he consecrated to Capitoline Jove." *Cf. Nero*, chap. 12. 16.

7. senes quoque consulares, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 15, states that no one was excused from performing, on the plea of birth, age, or office. Xiphilin cites the case of Aelia Catula, a woman of wealth and distinction, eighty years of age, who danced at one of these celebrations.

9. loca equiti secreta: see note on p. 90. 18. *Cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 32 (63 A.D.), *equitum Romanorum locos sedilibus plebis anteposuit apud circum; namque ad eam diem indiscreti inibant, quia lex Roscia nihil nisi de quattuordecim ordinibus sanxit.*

13. per catadromum: from Xiphilin's statement (lxi. 17) it is evident that the expression indicates a tight rope slanting from the top of the theatre to the ground: "On this occasion, an elephant that had been drawn to the top of the theatre ran down a rope with a rider upon its back." Seneca, *Epist.* 85. 41, also mentions a rope-walking elephant: *elephantem minimus Aethiops iubet subsidere in genua et ambulare per funem.*

14. Afrani: Lucius Afranius, Rome's most celebrated writer of the *fabulae togatae* (dramas Greek in form but representing Italian life), flourished about 100 B.C.

17. missilia: see note on p. 52. 11.

19. tesserae frumentariae: tickets which entitled the holder to his share of corn. Xiph., lxi. 18, states that other prizes were also given by ticket; he enumerates horses, slaves, carriages, gold, silver, and embroidered raiment.

21. insulae: see note on p. 25. 29 end.

22. e proscaenii fastigio: the *proscaenium* was the background of the stage, visible to the audience. Hence Nero was up above the stage; *cf.* the expression *ex parte proscaenii superiore, Nero*, chap. 26. 24.

23. amphitheatro ligneo: mentioned by Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 31 as built in the year 57 A.D.

25. exhibuit ad ferrum: *he brought out as gladiators.*

27. fortunae atque existimationis integrae: *of unimpaired fortune and unblemished reputation.*

28. et varia harenae ministeria: *ministeria* is the abstract for

the concrete *ministros.* He exhibited them as combatants and as slaves performing the menial services about the arena; see Introd. II., § 1, *d.* For a fuller account of this degradation, see Xiph. lxi. 17.

29. naumachiam marina aqua: *aqua* is ablative of quality; *i.e.* the place was flooded with sea-water, as stated by Xiph. lxi. 9. For the meanings of *naumachia*, see note on p. 39. 13.

30. pyrrichas: a war dance of Doric origin. It was danced to the sound of the flute, in rapid measures, by men dressed in armor, and represented the various movements of attack and defence. As the expression *pyrrichas quasdam e numero epheborum* is a somewhat strained expression to signify 'war dances danced by a number of youths,' Madvig's, among other emendations, may be cited,—*pyrrichistas quosdam.* **epheborum**: see Introd. II. § 1, *a* (1).

31. diplomata: the *diploma* was a paper folded double; in general, a document drawn up by a magistrate, conferring a privilege upon the recipient.

Page 113. **1. cubiculum**: a sort of imperial pavilion or box; doubtless so named because the emperor reclined there. It was situated above the seats assigned to senators and knights and in the part assigned to the third class of spectators, and is probably the same as the *suggestus.*

3. podio: the *podium* was the wall (about twelve feet high) that separated the arena from the spectators. The top of this, as being the best place to see the combats, was assigned to spectators of the highest rank. Here the word means that portion of the terrace on the *podium* which was used as a royal box.

5. instituit et quinquennale, *etc.*: this was in the year 60 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 20; they are also called *Neronia.* Xiph., lxi. 21, says that they were celebrated for the safe continuance of Nero's reign.

7. thermis atque gymnasio: these baths and gymnasia included open and covered colonnades for conversation, instruction, and physical exercise. There were also gardens, halls, libraries, and everything that could conduce to the comfort and amusement of visitors. Of these particular hot baths, no vestige remains; *cf.* Eutr. vii. 15, *aedificavit Romae thermas quae ante Neronianae dictae nunc Alexandrinae appellantur.* So named in honor of Alexander Severus.

9. toto: a rare dative form instead of *toti.*

10. sede praetorum: see Introd. II. § 2, *a* (2). The meaning is that they sat where the praetors sat when presiding. **in orchestram**

senatumque: a case of more exact definition. He descended to the orchestra, where the senators sat.

12. coronam : a prize for the best production in Latin prose and poetry. No one won it on this occasion, but Nero was proclaimed victor; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 21.

13. citharae: *sc. coronam.*

14. adoravit: he probably knelt and kissed it.

15. gymnico: *sc. certamine*, and *cf. Nero*, chap. 53. 12. **Saeptis**: the *Saepta Iulia;* see note on p. 12. 17.

16. buthysiae : (*βουθυσία*), *a sacrifice of oxen.* **barbam primam posuit**: see note on p. 112. 5.

19. invitavit et virgines Vestales: Augustus had forbidden women to appear at such exhibitions; *cf. Aug.* 44.

21. Tiridatis : brother of Vologeses I., king of Parthia. He had been driven from the throne of Armenia by Corbulo, the Roman general, but was restored by Nero in 63 A.D., as here related. Xiph., lxiii. 1–5, describes at great length the progress of Nero and Tiridates from the banks of the Euphrates to Rome. He ends with the words: "Nero then ordered him to ascend an inclined plane which had been built before the tribunal for the purpose. Tiridates seated himself at the feet of Nero, and the latter placed the diadem upon his head." This explains the *devexum pulpitum* of the Latin.

25. propter nubilum: *because of cloudy weather.*

29. admisit ad genua : *Nero allowed him to cast himself at his feet..*

30. tiara: *the turban*, or ordinary head-dress, of the Orientals.

32. in theatrum: it was on this occasion that Nero covered the theatre of Pompey with gold.

Page 114. **3. tamquam nullo residuo bello**: ablative absolute; Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1). Roth, with the manuscripts, reads, *tam nullo quam residuo bello;* the reading of the text is the emendation of Lipsius.

7. continuavit: *he held consecutively.* **inter annua spatia**: *after intervals of a year.* He was consul, 55, 57, 58, and 60 A.D.

8. postulatoribus: *i.e.* those who brought cases to him.

9. non temere : *hardly ever.*

11. continuis actionibus: *actio continua* would seem to be the same as *actio perpetua*, or presentation of a case in its entirety by the pleader. This Nero did not allow, but had the details (*quaeque*) separately (*singillatim*) presented by each side in turn (*per vices*).

12. quotiens . . . secederet: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

13. ad consultandum: *i.e.* to ask the opinion of his assessors or lawyers, who were selected to assist the judges with their advice.

14. sed conscriptas: Roth, with the manuscripts, reads *sed et.* The reading of the text is the emendation of Madvig, who regards the *et* as a repetition of the last two letters of *sed* (spelled *set,* as often in our mss.).

16. perinde atque: *just as if.*

17. non admisit: Nero was not so well disposed toward freedmen as was Claudius; *cf. Claud.* chap. 28. 12.

19. qui supra numerum essent: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 28, cites the instance of three candidates given the command of legions. There were fifteen candidates for the praetorship, and positions for but twelve. The three *supra numerum* were satisfied, as indicated.

23. Canini Rebili: in whose consulship, as Cicero (*Ad Fam.* vii. 30. 1) sarcastically remarked, no one breakfasted. The office was given him by Julius Caesar; *cf. Iul.* 76. **triumphalia ornamenta**: see note on p. 7. 6.

25. nec utique, *etc.*: *and that, too, not exclusively for military purposes.* **de quibusdam rebus**: Becker regards these words as having crept into the text from the margin of the manuscripts, where they served as a sort of chapter heading. Four manuscripts give *sed et de quibusdam rebus.*

27. quaestoris: the emperor regularly addressed the senate through the quaestors, one or more of whom were attached to him as secretaries.

28. novam excogitavit: *i.e.* after the great fire in 64 A.D., as is apparent from Tac. *Ann.* xv. 43. Streets were laid out in regular form, the height of buildings restricted, and room left for porticoes before them. **et ut . . . essent**: the *ut* shows that some word meaning 'directed,' or 'ordered,' is to be supplied by zeugma from *excogitavit.*

29. insulas: see note on p. 25. 29. **de quarum solariis**: *from the roofs of these.* For the word *solarium*, see note on p. 82. 17. The idea is that fire might be fought from these points of vantage.

32. veteri urbi: Rome.

Page 115. **3. sportulas**: see note on p. 90. 29.

4. popinis: see note on p. 21. 6.

5. obsonii: see note on p. 52. 11 end.

6. afflicti suppliciis Christiani: they were accused of having set

fire to Rome. See the whole of Tacitus' famous passage, *Ann.* xv. 44. Of the torture meted out to them, he relates that they were covered with the skins of wild beasts and then torn to pieces by dogs; many were covered with inflammable materials and burned, to serve as torches to light up Nero's garden where he was giving circensian games.

7. **novae ac maleficae**: *strange and baneful. Maleficae* may convey the idea that sorcery was practised in their rites.

8. **quadrigariorum lusus**: it would appear that the charioteers, after the races, were in the habit of amusing and enriching themselves in the way stated. By tacit permission of long standing (*licentia inveterata*), they claimed this privilege as a right (*ius*).

10. **pantomimorum factiones**: according to Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 25, Nero himself took delight in inciting the opposing factions against each other. Unable to quell the storm he had raised, he was forced to banish the actors and restore the military guard to the theatre. **cum ipsis**: *i.e.* the actors.

11. **tabulae**: *documents.* A number of *tabulae* relating to business transactions have been discovered at Pompeii. **nisi pertusae, etc.**: the outer edge of the tablet was pierced with holes, through which a string was passed three times and the seal fixed upon this triple cord.

13. **cerae**: inasmuch as the leaves of the tablets were covered with wax, the word *cera*, as here, often signifies 'page.'

14. **signaturis**: *i.e.* the witnesses.

15. **scriptor**: *the scribe.*

16. **pro patrociniis**: *for attorney's services.* The *lex Cincia*, 204 B.C., forbade giving or receiving fees for pleading cases. This law became obsolete, but Augustus again enforced it. Claudius fixed a maximum fee of 10,000 sesterces. Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 5, states that the former regulation of the *lex Cincia* was enforced at the beginning of Nero's reign. From the present passage, it appears that Nero afterward fixed the fees of advocates at what he deemed just amounts.

17. **pro subselliis**: the *subsellia* were seats arranged around the tribunal of the praetor, for the convenience of the parties in a suit. According to Nero's regulation, the parties of a suit would not be obliged to pay for them.

18. **rerum actu**: *in respect to judicial procedure; cf.* note on p. 85. 24. **ab aerario causae, etc.**: *i.e.* those having cases with the treasury department should not have them tried before the praefects of the treasury, but before *reciperatores* in the forum. Madvig would strike out *causae*, making *subsellia* the subject of *transferrentur*, ex-

plaining that during vacation time the *subsellia* were stored by the treasury department, but in term time (*actu rerum*) they were replaced and their gratuitous use allowed.

19. reciperatores: earlier form *recuperatores*; a judicial corporation of three or five members, before whom cases might be tried without the usual tedious delay incident to the ordinary form of procedure.

20. ad senatum, *etc.*: to increase the dignity of the senate, Nero also provided that in cases of appeal to the senate, the same caution money should be put up (usually one-third of the amount involved) as was usual in cases of appeal to the emperor; see Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 28.

22. ex Britannia: for reverses in Britain, see note on p. 130. 25.

24. Ponti modo regnum, *etc.*: *cf.* Eutr. vii. 14, *duae tamen provinciae sub eo factae sunt, Pontus Polemoniacus concedente rege Polemone, et Alpes Cottiae, Cottio rege defuncto.* For Cottius and his realm, see note on p. 22. 24.

25. Alpium: *sc. regnum.*

30. in aede Vestae: see note on p. 27. 22.

32. tanta oborta caligo est: *cf.* Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 36 (64 A.D.), who does not, however, particularize with regard to the omen. **in Achaia isthmum perfodere**, *etc.*: the isthmus of Corinth; see note on p. 53. 29. Xiph., lxiii. 16, states that many prodigies, such as the sound of lamentation and groaning, blood bursting from the ground, etc., deterred the workmen who first broke ground. This was the reason that Nero himself seized a pickaxe and set an example which others had to follow.

Page 116. **4. ad Caspias portas**: the *Caspiae portae* was the narrow pass leading through Mt. Taurus, and was the same as the modern pass of Dariel, in southeastern Asia Minor.

5. senum: genitive plural of *seni*, 'of none less than six feet tall.'

13. Terpnum: he is subsequently mentioned as receiving rewards from Vespasian.

16. meditari exercerique: *study and train himself.*

19. chartam: *charta* elsewhere has the meaning of 'sheet of paper,' here it has the force of the word *lamina.*

21. blandiente profectu: *flattered by his progress.* **fuscae**: *husky.*

24. et prodit Neapoli primum: he chose this because it was a Greek city and because he did not dare begin at Rome.

26. nomon: νόμος, the 'air' or 'tune.'

28. impatiens secreti: *i.e.* he could not bear to be out of sight of the audience even during the intermission. **a balineis**: *after bathing.* The plural of the word in this sense is post-Augustan.

30. subbibisset: note the force of the prefix, 'to take a drop,' 'to tipple.' **sufferti**: equivalent to *canori*, a partitive genitive with *aliquid.* The word is probably a translation of the Greek, ὑπόπυκνον, πυκνόν in music meaning 'loud.' Render, 'he would ring out a loud enough tune to suit them.'

31. modulatis: *given in measured cadence.*

32. commeatu: from the meaning 'a going and coming,' *commeatus* takes the meaning of the thing that comes and goes, as a caravan, fleet, train, etc. Render, 'who had flocked to Naples in a fleet lately arrived.'

Page 117. **5. bombos**: the humming of bees, hence a sound of applause resembling this. **imbrices**: hollow tiles used on the roofs for the purpose of carrying off the water. Here, a kind of applause made by holding the hands so as to form hollows, and striking them together. **testas**: flat tiles, hence a clapping with the palms of the hands held flat.

7. pueri nec sine anulo laevis: Roth's reading from the best manuscripts, *pueris sine anulo laviis*, gives no meaning. The reading of the text is that of the fifteenth century manuscript in the Royal Library at Munich, with the slight change *laevis* for *levis.* Render, 'youths distinguished for their thick heads of hair, and wearing rings on the left hand.' Madvig's conjecture, *puris ac sine anulo laevis*, is plausible.

8. quadringena milia: about $20,000.

9. Neroneum agona: *i.e.* the Neronia described in *Nero*, chap. 12. 5 *seq.*

10. ante praestitutam diem: *i.e.* not allowing an interval of five years between the different celebrations of the Neronia.

12. in hortis: probably in his private garden. **se copiam volentibus facturum**: *would accede to their wishes.*

14. repraesentaturum: *that he would perform forthwith.*

15. nomen suum in albo, *etc.*: *cf.* Xiph. lxiii. 9, "How could any one see with equanimity, or even hear of such acts as these on the part of imperial Caesar! entering his name on the list of athletes,

testing his voice, studying his ditties, letting his locks grow long, plucking the hair from his chin to make it smooth, *etc.*" For meaning of *album*, see note on p. 87. 10.

16. sorticula: see Introd. II. § 1, *c.* The diminutive probably belongs to colloquial speech and does not differ in meaning from *sors.*

19. amicorum intimi: a partitive construction much affected by Tacitus. **peracto principio**: probably some words to gain the good will of the audience; *cf.* Xiph. lxi. 20, "'And now, gentlemen, listen to me with favor,' said the emperor."

20. Niobam: a poem telling of the woes of Niobe, who lost her seven sons and seven daughters for having, in her pride, compared herself to Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis. **Cluvium Rufum**: *cf.* note on p. 120. 3.

21. in horam fere decimam: till about 4 P.M.; see note on p. 73. 22.

22. coronam eam: *i.e.* the prize for that song.

25. dubitavit etiam an: *he even had some thought, etc.* **privatis spectaculis**: that is, those given by the magistrates, as distinguished from those of the emperor. **operam inter scaenicos daret**: *of appearing as an actor.*

26. quodam praetorum: his name was Larcius Lydus; *cf.* Xiph. lxiii. 21. **sestertium decies**: about $50,000.

27. personatus: *wearing a mask* (*persona*).

29. feminae, prout, *etc.*: *of the woman of whom he was enamoured.*

30. Canacen: daughter of Aeolus and Enarete, and mistress of Poseidon, to whom she bore several children.

31. Oresten: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. He slew his mother to avenge his father, who had been slain by her and her paramour, Aegisthus. **Oedipodem**: the unhappy king who, driven by fate to slay his father and marry his mother, on discovering what he had done, blinded himself.

32. Herculem insanum: in a fit of insanity, Hercules shot down the three children which Megara, daughter of Creon, king of Thebes, had borne him. **tirunculum**: *a young recruit;* Introd. II. § 1, *c.*

Page 118. **2. sicut argumentum postulabat**: *as the plot required.*

4. equorum studio: both Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 14, and Xiphilin, lxi. 6, mention this passion of Nero. The latter goes on to state that as a result of Nero's favor the charioteers became so insolent, and

demanded such prices, that a praetor, Aulus Fabricius, refused to have any dealings with them, and had dogs trained to run instead of horses. **vel**: intensive.

5. plurimus illi sermo . . . erat: *he talked a great deal.* **quamquam vetaretur**: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

6. prasinum agitatorem: see note on p. 71. 28.

8. Hectore: the Trojan hero slain by Achilles and thrice dragged around the walls of Troy. The teacher had heard Nero speaking of a charioteer who had been dragged by his horses. Nero, to conceal the subject of the conversation, falsely said that he had been speaking of Hector.

10. abaco: *gaming table;* the word also means 'counting board,' and 'sideboard.'

11. e secessu: *from his place of retreat;* probably from his villas.

12. eo die utique: *on that particular day, i.e.* every day when such games were celebrated.

14. missibus: see note on p. 90. 15.

15. dominis: *managers.*

16. greges: *their companies; i.e.* of drivers.

17. positoque . . . rudimento: *abandoning his experiments. Posito* is equivalent to *deposito; cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 14.

18. inter servitia: Introd. II. § 1, *d.*

20. mittente mappam: this was the signal to start. **unde**: *i.e.* he sat where the magistrates who ordinarily gave the signal used to sit.

21. contentus . . . dedisse: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1).

22. Achaiam . . . petit: Xiph. lxiii. 8: "He crossed over into Greece, not as his predecessors, Flaminius, Mummius, Agrippa, and Augustus, had done, but to drive chariots, play on the harp, act as herald, and play tragedies."

29. se: ablative.

30. Cassiopen: *Cassïope*, a town in the north of Corcyra (Corfu). Its tutelary divinity was Jupiter Cassius.

Page 119. **2. praeter consuetudinem**: contrary to the usage at the Olympian games, where there were ordinarily only the gymnastic contests and chariot races.

5. Helio: Xiph., lxiii. 12 and 19, states that this freedman had been left in charge of the city. He had first summoned Nero by letter and then came on in person, and so terrified him with the story of

a conspiracy that he immediately set sail. Helius did this in th hope that Nero might be lost in a storm then raging at sea.

12. taedio audiendi, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 5, states also tha many knights were crushed to death in the crowd packed into th theatre; *cf.* Xiph. lxiii. 15.

13. oppidorum: the word *oppidum*, in early Latin, was synony mous with *carcer*, as a technical term referring to the circus. Th present passage would indicate that the word *oppidum* was applied t the theatre as well. The people, in this instance, might have escape through the *oppida*, had not the gates of the same been closed. I is possible, however, that the word *oppidum* may also mean som ordinary exit from the theatre. **de muro**: *murus* refers to th outer wall of the theatre.

14. quam autem trepide, *etc.*: Tac., *Ann.* xvi. 4, says tha Nero used to salute the audience and then on bended knee and wit assumed fear, await the decision of the judges.

17. captare: *try to entice.*

18. ex occursu: *on meeting*; *cf.* note on p. 106. 9.

19. corrumpere: *bribe.*

23. hortantibus: *sc. iudicibus*, ablative absolute.

24. taciturnitatem pro tristitia, *etc.*: *attributing the silenc which some maintained because of modesty, to sourness and malignit of disposition.*

27. exscreare: *to cough and spit*; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 4.

32. hypocrita: the actor who accompanied with appropriate ges tures the words of the speaker was called *hypocrita*.

Page 120. **3. praeconio ubique contendit**: *everywhere entere into competition with heralds.* He did this to make a display of hi clearness of voice and lung power. *Praeconio* is ablative of means According to Xiph. lxiii. 14, Nero at first made use of Cluviu Rufus, a man of consular rank, as his herald.

4. hieronicarum: the *hieronīca* (ἱερονίκης) was a victor at th sacred games.

7. Olympiis: *sc. certaminibus*, the Olympic games were held ever four years at Olympia.

9. sed excussus curru: Xiphilin, lxiii. 14, notes that Nero wa almost trampled to death on this occasion.

11. provinciam: *i.e. Achaiam*, the official name of Greece as Roman province.

12. libertate donavit: Xiphilin, lxiii. 11, says that, to be sure

he left it free, but he had first ravaged it as if he were waging war against it.

20. veste: Becker regards this word as a gloss.

21. coronam: it is stated by Xiphilin that the Pythian crown was of laurel, and the Olympian of wild olive.

22. pompa ceterarum: *a procession of those carrying other crowns; cf.* the expression *pompa imaginum.*

23. quove fabularum argumento: *in the representation of what plays.*

25. Augustianos: *royal attendants.* What these were and what were their duties may be seen from Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 15. *Cf.* also Xiph. lxi. 20, "He instituted a special body of about five thousand soldiers, called *Augustani*, to sound his praises." He continues with the statement that others were forced to follow the example of the *Augustani* even against their will. The cries were, "O beautiful Caesar!" "O Apollo!" "O Augustus!" "O Seer!" "No one surpasses thee!" "By thee we swear!"

27. Velabrum: a district between the *Vicus Tuscus* and the *Forum Boarium.* **Apollinem**: *i.e.* the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. He went to this temple because his triumph was that of an artist.

29. aves: possibly to symbolize his victory in song. **lemnisci**: these were ribbons or streamers attached to the crown given to the victor in the games. **bellaria**: *sweetmeats.* According to Gell. xiii. 11. 7, this is an archaic word.

30. coronas: Xiphilin states that Nero brought crowns into the Forum to the number of 1808, and hung them upon the obelisk.

31. percussit: *stamped.*

Page 121. **2. nisi absens aut,** *etc.*: that is, he sent his orders if not there in person; but if present, he had another speak for him.

4. phonasco: *an instructor in voice culture.* Augustus also received instruction from a *phonascus; cf. Aug.* 84. **arteriis**: *organs of the voice.* In the singular, *arteria* means 'windpipe.'

6. simultatem: *animosity.*

12. esse: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1). **post crepusculum statim,** *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 25, Nero disguised himself as a slave. Others, following his example, formed bands of their own and went about rioting.

13. galero: *a peruke; cf.* Xiph. lxi. 9, "When he acted thus, he thought that he escaped notice, because he had disguised himself in various costumes and wore false hair."

17. quintana: *mart.* The word strictly means the market of a camp, but is used here in the general sense. **ubi partae . . . absumeretur**: *that he might there sell off at auction in small lots the booty he had secured, and then squander the proceeds.* The literal rendering is, 'where he might squander the proceeds of the booty secured and to be sold piecemeal at auction. Note the meaning of *divido*, 'to sell in small lots.'

20. a quodam laticlavio: for the *latus clavus*, see note on p. 21. 29; the man's name was Julius Montanus. He was foolish enough to show that he recognized Nero and to ask his pardon. For this he was compelled to die; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 25. **attrectaverat**: *had taken liberties with.*

22. illud horae: *i.e.* at night. See Bennett, *Lat. Gram.* 185, 2; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 25.

24. delatus in theatrum, *etc.*: see note on p. 115. 10. **e parte proscaenii superiore**: see note on p. 112. 22.

25. signifer simul ac spectator: *i.e.* he incited them to brawls and then enjoyed the contests he had stirred up.

28. consauciavit: *he wounded severely;* a post-Augustan word, and very rare at that.

Page 122. **1. piscinis**: *swimming pools;* a post-Augustan meaning. The earlier meaning of *piscina* is 'fish pond.'

3. naumachia praeclusa: *in the naumachia with the sluices shut.* See Introd. II. § 2, *a* (2). For *naumachia*, see note on p. 39. 13.

4. inter . . . ministeria: *i.e.* he was served by courtesans and dancing girls of bad repute.

5. quotiens . . . deflueret: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (3).

7. insignes ganea: *notorious for carousals.* For the meaning of *ganea*, see note on p. 21. 6.

8. matronarum institorio: *bartering matrons.* **copas imitantium**: *i.e.* they enticed by the arts which hostesses of inns employ to attract travellers; *cf.* the pseudo Virgilian *Copa.*

9. hinc inde: *on this side and that; i.e.* of the river. The old editions read: *insignes ganeae et matronarum, institorias operas imitantium, etc. Ganea* is the conjecture of Claude de Saumaise for *ganeae* of the manuscripts, and *institorio* that of Adrien Turnèbe for the meaningless *institorlo.* The ablative with *insignes* is, moreover, the construction used elsewhere by Suetonius. **indicebat**, *etc.*: *i.e.* he invited himself to dine with his intimates, and made them give expensive dinners.

10. mitellita: probably an adjective agreeing with *cena*, and meaning a dinner where *mitellae* (diminutive of *mitra*), or garlands made of flowers, ribbons, and costly perfumes, were distributed among the guests. **quadragies sestertium**: *4,000,000 sesterces;* about $200,000. *Quadragies* is to be considered as an indeclinable noun in the ablative. Roth's reading, *sestertio*, is the conjecture of De Saumaise. For a discussion of the reading and construction, see note on p. 25. 27.

11. constitit: *cost.* **pluris aliquanto**: *pluris* is genitive of price and *aliquanto* ablative of degree of difference. **rosaria**: *sc. cena; i.e.* a dinner where roses were used in profusion for decoration and for gifts. The reading of the old editions for this passage is as follows: *mellita . . . absorptio rosaria*, 'a drink sweetened with honey and another flavored with rose.' *Absorptio* does not, however, appear in the best manuscripts, and is met with nowhere else.

13. deparcos: *over sparing;* the word occurs only here. **quibus impensarum ratio constaret**: *who had regard for expense.* Xiphilin, lxi. 5, says that Nero had directed the sum of 10,000,000 sesterces paid to Doryphorus, his accountant, and that when Agrippina had the money heaped up, in order that her son, seeing the amount, might repent of his generosity, Nero ordered the sum doubled, remarking that he had not been aware that he had given such a paltry amount.

17. in brevi spatio, *etc.*: see *Calig.* chap. 37. 13.

18. quare nec largiendi, *etc.*: according to Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 20, Nero expended 2,200,000 sesterces on donations.

19. octingena nummum milia: about $40,000.

21. sestertium milies: about $5,000,000. Xiphilin, lxiii. 2, gives the same figures for the first sum, but doubles the second. **Menecraten**: Nero's instructor on the cithara.

22. mirmillonem: see note on p. 59. 4.

26. quadringenis sestertiis: the distributive adjective shows that *sestertiis* is the ablative of *sestertia*, not *sestertii;* 400,000 sesterces. **in punctum**: *at each throw;* lit. 'per point.'

27. rete aurato et purpura, *etc.*: *with a golden net drawn by cords made of purple and scarlet threads.* That the *funibus* does not refer to the meshes of the net, is seen from Orosius, vii. 7, *luxuriae tam effrenatae fuit, ut retibus aureis piscaretur, quae purpureis funibus, extrahebantur.*

28. soleis mularum argenteis, *etc.*: *his mules shod with silver, the drivers clothed in fine wool of Canusium, his troops of*

Mazaces and couriers adorned with ornaments on the arms and breast.

29. canusinatis: Canusium, in Apulia, was famous for its fine wool.

30. Mazacum: the *Mazaces*, a tribe of Mauretania, noted for their skill in horsemanship and their fine steeds.

31. damnosior: *squandering more money.*

Page 123. **1. Esquilias usque**: equivalent to *usque ad Esquilias; cf.* note on p. 11. 8.

2. transitoriam: *the house of passage, i.e.* as connecting the Palatine with the Esquiline. Before the fire, the *domus transitoria* was probably nothing but a long corridor carried over the streets and connecting the Palatine and Esquiline hills; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 39.

4. suffecerit: potential subjunctive; but *cf. Appendix to Bennett's Lat. Gram.* 360, *a.*

5. colossus: Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 45, states that this was the work of Zenodorus.

6. porticus triplices miliarias: the simplest form of the portico or porch would be one row of columns, the roof resting upon these and upon the outer wall of the building. The portico here mentioned, presumably surrounding the palace, was a Roman mile in circumference and had three rows of columns. Each aisle would somewhat resemble a simple portico; hence the plural *porticus.*

7. maris instar: *like a sea.*

8. ad urbium speciem: *presenting the appearance of cities.* **rura insuper, arvis,** *etc.: stretches of country too, in the different aspects of tilled fields, vineyards, pasture, and forest land.* The architects and landscape gardeners who had the genius to accomplish this work were named Severus and Celer; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 42.

11. unionum conchis: *mother of pearl.*

12. tabulis: these were the panels proper of the laquear or fretted ceiling. **ut flores,** *etc.:* the first *ut* clause gives the purpose of *versatilibus*, the second that of *fistulatis.*

14. cenationum: partitive genitive depending upon the adjective *praecipua.* **rotunda**: predicate adjective; 'the main dining room was round.'

16. albulis aquis: *i.e.* with water brought from the Sulphur Springs (*Albulae aquae*) near Tibur.

19. piscinam a Miseno, *etc.: a bathing pool extending from*

Misenum to Lake Avernus. The distance was something like three English miles. Baiae was midway between the two points.

20. quo quidquid totis Baiis, *etc.: into which all the warm streams of Baiae might be turned.*

22. fossam: Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 42, speaks of the difficulty of such an undertaking, and says that traces of the work which finally had to be abandoned, were to be seen in his time.

23. nec tamen, *etc.: and yet not by sea.*

24. contrariae . . . commearent: *might pass each other.*

26. custodiae: see note on p. 34. 6.

27. damnari praeceperat: see Introd. II. § 4, *b* (1).

28. super fiduciam imperii: *in addition to his confidence in the resources of his empire.*

30. ex indicio equitis Romani: Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 1, states that the name of this person was Caesellius Bassus, that he was of Phœnician origin and of unsound mind.

Page 124. **3. exhaustus:** *impoverished.*

4. commoda: *cf.* note on p. 65. 28.

8. pro semisse dextans: *instead of one-half, five-sixths.* See note on p. 15. 30. **sine probabili causa:** *i.e.* freedmen whose connection with these families could not be traced.

9. quo: in the same construction as *eo nomine.* Such names might be Julius, Octavius, Claudius, Domitius, *etc.* Roth, with the manuscripts, reads *essent quo fuissent*, a manifest case of transposition. The reading of the text is the conjecture of Casaubon. Becker, however, regards *fuissent* as a gloss, and would strike out the word.

11. fiscum: see note on p. 96. 24.

14. quibus modo, *etc.: if only an informer brought charges.*

15. revocavit: *i.e.* he again exacted the gifts.

17. summisisset: *stealthily sent.* As though the merchants were guilty of disobeying him, he closed their shops and confiscated their property.

19. praeclusit negotiatores: a concise expression for *ianuas negotiatorum praeclusit.* For Nero's treatment of merchants, *cf.* Orosius, vii. 7, *negotiatorum omnium sub una die tormentis quoque adhibitis omnem penitus censum abstersit.* **inter canendum:** Introd. II. § 4, *c*.

23. ut non adiceret: *without adding.*

24. hoc agamus: *let this be our aim.*

27. Galba restituit: *cf.* Tacitus' cutting words, *Agric.* 6: *tum*

electus (Agricola) *a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda, diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.*

30. ut qui: *since;* introducing a relative clause of cause.

Page 125. **3. morari**: Nero, by lengthening the vowel *o* of the verb *morari*, changed the meaning of the sentence from 'ceased to tarry among men,' *i.e.* died, to 'ceased to play the fool among men,' connecting the word with μωρός (Plautine *mōrus*), 'foolish.'

5. bustum: the place where the body was burned. His ashes were deposited in the Mausoleum of Augustus.

6. maceria: *a wall;* a generally accepted emendation for *materia* of the manuscripts.

7. Britannicum: son of Claudius and Messalina.

10. veneno adgressus est: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 15, Julius Pollio, a tribune of the praetorian cohort, administered the poison which Locusta had prepared. Locusta afterward became proverbial; *cf.* Juv. i. 71.

11. venenorum variorum indice: *an inventor of various poisonous potions.* Roth, with the manuscripts, reads *venenariorum indice.* The reading of the text is the conjecture of Ihm and seems preferable to that of Madvig, *venenorum rariorum.*

15. invidiam: *odium.* **legem Iuliam**: this law is not mentioned elsewhere. It was probably one of the provisions of the *Lex Iulia de vi publica*, and directed against poisoners.

17. deinde in haedo expertus: *then testing it upon a kid.*

20. cenanti secum: for the practice of allowing the princes to dine in the presence of their elders, see note on p. 98. 6.

22. comitiali morbo: see note on p. 68. 29.

24. tralaticio: *ordinary. Tralaticius* is applied to anything handed down; *e.g. decretum tralaticium*, 'a decree handed down from former magistrates,' hence, 'common' or 'ordinary'; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 17. Xiphilin, lxi. 7, states that the livid spots on the corpse, caused by the poison administered, were concealed by the use of chalk. This, however, was washed away by the rain, and the horror disclosed. **pro navata opera**: *for her distinguished services.*

25. et discipulos: *i.e.* those whom she was to instruct in her art.

27. ut invidia identidem, *etc.*: *i.e.* by repeatedly pretending to be on the point of giving up the reins of power because of her conduct, he tried to cast odium upon her.

31. statione: *guard.*

32. neque in divexanda quicquam pensi habuit: *he made no scruples of harrying his mother.* **pensi**: predicate genitive of quality. In the present context this seems better than to call *pensi* a partitive genitive.

Page 126. **4. perdere statuit**: Xiphilin, lxi. 12, says that it was asserted on good authority, that Seneca was the prime mover in this crime. Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 7, simply states that after her death Nero summoned Seneca and Burrus, either as his confederates or to test their feelings on what he had done without their knowledge. **ter veneno temptasset**: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 3, says nothing about these three attempts. He states that Nero first decided upon poison, but did not dare try it at his own table, having already poisoned Britannicus in that way. Furthermore, it would be dangerous to employ others, since Agrippina would be apt to detect the attempt.

6. laxata machina: *on loosening the mechanism;* ablative absolute.

7. solutilem navem: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 3, states that Anicetus, admiral of the fleet at Misenum, was the inventor of this scheme. According to Xiphilin, however, lxi. 12, this ship was suggested by a similar contrivance which Nero and Seneca had seen in the theatre.

8. camarae ruina: *by the fall of the cabin.*

10. ad sollemnia Quinquatruum: the Quinquatrus was celebrated in honor of Minerva, during five days in March; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 4.

13. convivium: Xiphilin, lxi. 13, probably by mistake, says that this entertainment took place at Bauli, a small place between the gulf of Baiae and Cape Misenum. According to Suetonius it took place at Baiae, whence Agrippina sailed in the treacherous ship to Bauli. Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 4, says that coming from Antium she was met by Nero, and conducted to Bauli. Her suspicions aroused, she travelled by sedan chair to Baiae, where the banquet took place. This does not contradict Suetonius. **in locum . . . illud**: the galley in which she had come had been wrecked purposely. In place of that (*in locum*), the above-mentioned (*illud*, sc. *navigium*) *navis solutilis* was given her.

17. diversa omnia: *i.e.* from what he had expected. **nandoque evasisse**: she first swam and then was picked up by a skiff and taken to her villa; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 5. **L. Agerinum,** *etc.*: Tacitus' account (*Ann.* xiv. 7) of this theatrical *coup* of Nero's tallies with that of Suetonius.

20. ut percussorem sibi subornatum: *on the ground that he had been instigated by Agrippina to assassinate him.*

21. quasi . . . vitasset: *to make it seem that she had avoided the consequences of the deed in which she had been detected by committing suicide.*

22. adduntur his, *etc.:* according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 9, some affirmed these rumors, while others denied them. Xiphilin, lxi. 14, asserts that Nero did view the corpse, examine the wounds, and finally remark, "I did not know that I had such a beautiful mother."

26. quamquam et militum . . . confirmaretur: Burrus was the one who took the initiative and had the soldiers congratulate Nero on his escape; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 10; Introd. II. § 3, *b* (5).

28. saepe confessus, *etc.:* the pangs of a guilty conscience compelled him to leave the scene of the murder; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 10.

30. Magos: the magians were learned men and magicians among the Persians.

32. et Eleusinis sacris: see note on p. 94. 17. For the force of *et*, see Introd. II. § 6, *d*.

Page 127. **3. amitae**: aunt of Nero and sister of Domitia Lepida, mentioned above, *Nero*, chap. 7. 25.

6. simul hanc excepero: *as soon as I shall have received this;* as soon as she should have seen Nero shave for the first time and offer up his beard; *cf. Nero*, chap. 12. 16.

8. positurum: equivalent to *depositurum.*

11. Poppaeam Sabinam: was the daughter of T. Ollius, but had assumed the name of her grandfather Poppaeus Sabinus, consul in 9 A.D. She was a woman of great beauty but of loose morals. She was first married to Rufus Crispinus and afterward to Otho, who was one of Nero's chums. On Nero's becoming enamoured of her, he sent Otho away to the province of Lusitania, and took Poppaea himself.

13. Statiliam Messalinam: granddaughter of Statilius Taurus, consul in 11 A.D. She was Nero's third wife, and is not to be confused with Valeria Messalina, third wife of Claudius.

15. in honore ipso: *while still in office.*

18. uxoria ornamenta: *i.e.* she should be content with the mere title of wife; a pun on *triumphalia ornamenta*, etc.

21. relegavit: she was sent first to Campania; after her recall, at the request of the people, she was again banished, this time to the island of Pandateria.

22. in quaestione: *when questioned under torture.*

23. Anicetum: see note on p. 126. 7. Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 64, speaks in pitying terms of Octavia's fate. She was murdered, 62 A.D. **qui dolo stupratam a se fateretur**: this is the reading of the Codex Basiliensis. Roth, with the best manuscripts, reads, *qui fingeret dolo, etc.*, which cannot be construed. Medicean I and II read, *fingeret et, etc.*

26. ictu calcis occidit: Xiphilin, lxii. 27, and Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 6, give the same story. The latter adds that some authors state that she was poisoned. This, however, he does not believe.

28. ex hac filiam tulit: born at Antium, 62 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 23.

31. Antoniam: *cf. Claud.* chap. 27. 3, where her marriages are mentioned.

Page 128. **1. similiter ceteros,** *etc.*: Roth, with the best manuscripts, reads, *similiter inter ceteros.* Becker regards the *inter* as a mistake of the scribes, who repeated the last part of *similiter.* Moreover, one manuscript of the thirteenth century in the British Museum omits *inter.* Four of the fifteenth century read *interemit.*

2. Aulum Plautium: not mentioned elsewhere.

5. iactans dilectum ab ea, *etc.*: *asserting tauntingly that he had been loved by her and had been led to hope for imperial power.*

8. ducatus: accusative plural. A game was played in which he was called *dux* and *imperator.*

9. Tuscum: Caecina Tuscus, whom Nero wished to make prefect of the praetorians instead of Burrus; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 20.

12. quamvis saepe commeatum, *etc.*: explained more fully by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 54, in what purports to be Seneca's own words. *Commeatum* means permission to retire from active public life. The story of Seneca's death is given in detail by Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 60–65.

13. bonisque cedenti: *and offering to give up his property.* **suspectum se frustra**: *i.e. by Seneca.*

15. toxicum misit: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 51, states that it was not definitely known whether or not Burrus died a natural death, but that many believed that he was poisoned in the way indicated by Suetonius.

16. libertos: among these, Tacitus mentions Doryphorus, put to death for opposing Nero's marriage to Poppaea, and Pallas, killed for the reason that by living so long he was keeping his vast wealth from Nero, who would inherit it at his death; see Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 65.

20. stella crinita: two comets are mentioned by Tacitus in the

reign of Nero, one appearing in the year 60 (*Ann.* xiv. 22), and the other in the year 64 (*Ann.* xv. 47).

27. Pisoniana: a plot formed against Nero in the year 65 A.D. by Cn. Piso and other nobles. Most of those who joined it lost their lives; among others, the poet Lucan. **Viniciana**: nothing further is known of the conspiracy of Vinicius.

30. imputarent: *made a merit of it;* an expression borrowed from the mart, and really meaning 'to charge.'

31. illi: *i.e.* Nero; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 68.

Page 129. **2. capsariis**: slaves who carried a child's books, tablets, *etc.*, in a *capsa*, or satchel, were termed *capsarii.*

3. prohibitos quaerere: *kept from seeking.*

4. dilectus aut modus: *distinction or limit; i.e.* he killed indiscriminately.

7. tabernas tres de domo: a *domus* often had shops and rooms facing the street and not connected with the interior, which the owner, as in the case mentioned, might rent.

8. ad stationem: *as headquarters; i.e.* for their ambassadors. The public *statio*, or place set aside for the ambassadors in the Forum, where they might listen to the speeches and debates, was called the *Graecostasis.* **Cassio Longino**: he seems to have been merely exiled to the island of Sardinia. Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 7, says that the inscription on the bust of Cassius read *duci partium.*

10. Paeto Thraseae: a famous stoic philosopher and Roman senator. Nero was provoked with Thrasea because the latter had left the senate during the reading of Nero's lying letter about his mother's death. Xiphilin, lxi. 21, states that Thrasea rose and left the senate because what he wished to say he could not, and what he could, he would not. Thrasea was condemned to death in 66 A.D.

12. trium horarum: this is the reading of the Gudianus, and is probably correct. Roth, with the Memmian and others, gives *horarum* without a numeral.

15. polyphago: πολυφάγος, *a freak with a miraculous digestion.*

20. iecit: *let fall.*

22. equiti: collective, 'knights.'

24. osculo impertiit: the normal construction with *impertio* is dative of the person and accusative of the thing, *cuiquam osculum impertire;* then, as in the present instance, it was construed as the verb *dono* is, with the accusative of the person and ablative of the thing.

25. opere Isthmi: see *Calig.* chap. 21. 29.

27. dissimulata senatus mentione: *omitting to mention the senate.*

30. ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί: *when I am dead, let the world be consumed by fire.* This is supposed to be a verse of Euripides. Dio Cassius, lviii. 23, says that it was often on the lips of Tiberius.

31. ἐμοῦ ζῶντος: *while I live.*

Page 130. **1. incendit urbem**: the same statement is made by Xiph. lxii. 16. Tacitus, however, is not so sure, *Ann.* xv. 38, *sequitur clades, forte an dolo principis incertum, nam utrumque auctores prodidere.*

6. ut inflammata sint: this clause is in the same construction as *ut attigerint, incendit* being used by zeugma with the second *ut* clause.

7. sex dies, *etc.*: so Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 40 (64 A.D). He says, however, that it broke out again, and Lipsius cites an inscription belonging to Christian Rome, to the effect that the conflagration lasted nine days.

8. monumentorum: *public buildings, i.e.* erected by individuals and perpetuating their memory. **ad . . . diversoria**: *for refuge;* lit. 'to the shelter furnished by public buildings,' etc.; *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 39, who states that Nero also opened his own gardens for the homeless people, and erected temporary quarters for them. Provisions were also brought in hastily and sold at greatly reduced prices.

9. tunc praeter immensum, *etc.*: *cf.* Tacitus' enumeration (*Ann.* xv. 41) of the losses. Xiphilin, lxii. 18, states that two-thirds of the city was burned and innumerable lives lost; Tacitus, that but four of the fourteen wards of the city remained intact, three being utterly laid waste, and seven partially.

10. domus: on the *domus* and *insulae*, see note on p. 25. 29 end.

14. e turre Maecenatiana, *etc.*: this structure was probably a tower in the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline and connected with the Palatium by the *domus transitoria*, mentioned in *Nero*, chap. 31. 2. Xiphilin, lxii. 18, represents Nero as reciting on the top of the palace, whence he had a fine view of the conflagration. Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 39, states as a rumor what Suetonius and Xiphilin give as facts. Nero had been at Antium, but returned to Rome as the fire approached the *domus transitoria.*

16. Halosin: ἅλωσιν, *the sack.* The poem was probably written or improvised by Nero himself. Xiphilin is authority for the statement that Nero wrote a poem entitled *Troica*; *cf.* also Juv. viii. 220.

18. pollicitus . . . egestionem: according to Tacitus, *Ann.* xv.

43, Nero had the débris removed to help along the work of rebuilding the city. The fact is mentioned in connection with the colonnades which Nero ordered constructed at his own expense; see *Nero*, chap. 16. 29.

20. collationibus: exacted on the pretence of repairing the losses caused by fire. Even the gods were compelled to submit to this treatment and their temples pillaged; *cf.* Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 45.

23. pestilentia: in connection with this, Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 31 (65 A.D.), mentions violent hurricanes, which destroyed farmhouses, orchards, and crops throughout Campania.

25. in rationem Libitinae, *etc.: were entered on the mortuary records.* In the temple of *Venus Libitina*, regarded as the goddess of death, everything requisite for burials was kept, and had to be bought or borrowed from it. According to an old ordinance, a piece of money was deposited in the temple for every person who died in Rome. **clades Britannica**: 61 A.D.; see Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 29 *seq.*, where a detailed account of the uprising is given. Xiphilin assigns as the cause of the uprising the severity of the confiscations resulting from the calling in of large sums lent the Britons by Claudius and Seneca. Tacitus gives as the cause the tyranny and severity of the Roman forces.

26. duo oppida: Camaludunum, the modern Colchester, and Verulamium. Londinium was also destroyed, having been abandoned by Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, in order to save the other places.

27. ignominia ad Orientem: particularly in the contests against Vologeses, king of the Parthians, 62 A.D.; *cf.* Tac. *Ann.* xv. 6 *seq.*

28. sub iugum missis: Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 15, mentions this as a mere rumor.

30. fuerit: for construction, see note on p. 123. 4.

Page 131. **1. exstitisse**: *showed himself.*

3. Νέρων Ὀρέστης, *etc.: Nero, Orestes, and Alcmaeon, all three slew their mothers.* For Orestes, see note on p. 117. 31. Alcmaeon, at the bidding of his father, slew his mother, Eriphyle.

4. Νεόνυμφον Νέρων, *etc.: Nero slew his own mother and she but newly wed.* Νεόνυμφον agrees with μητέρα and refers to the rumors of Nero's incestuous intercourse with Agrippina.

6. sustulit: a play upon two meanings of *tollo*, 'to carry' and 'to kill.' Render, 'carried off.' For the account of Aeneas carrying his father from burning Troy, see *Aen.* ii. 707 *seq.*

7. noster: *i.e.* Nero. **cornua**: *bow.*

8. Paean: Apollo as god of Music. **ille**: *i.e.* Parthus. **Hecatebeletes**: ἑκατηβελέτης, *the far shooter;* an epithet applied to Apollo in his destructive mood.

10. domus: referring to the Golden Palace, which is hyperbolically said to take in all Rome; *cf. Nero*, chap. 31. 3.

14. Naupli mala: *disasters of Nauplius.* Nauplius, to avenge his son's unjust execution at Troy, drew the Greek ships upon the rocks by kindling false signal fires. *Naupli* is subjective genitive, meaning the disasters inflicted by him. Note the play upon the words *mala bene, bona male;* it may be rendered, 'sang properly the woes of Nauplius, but wofully wasted his own property.'

15. Atellanarum: *sc. fabularum*, and see note on p. 41. 18. **cantico**: *cantica* was the name given to all portions of the comedy that were accompanied by music. More strictly it means, as here, the solo accompanied by music and dancing.

16. Ὑγίαινε πάτερ, *etc.: farewell father, farewell mother!* **demonstraverat**: *had acted.*

17. bibentem: *cf. Claud.* chap. 44. 25. **nantem**: *cf. Nero*, chap. 34. 17. **faceret**: *represent.*

18. in novissima clausula: *in the closing sentence.* **Orcus vobis**, *etc.: you stand on the brink of the grave.*

19. histrionem et philosophum: *viz.* Datus and Isidorus.

22. irritaret ingenia, *etc.: i.e.* incite others who had ability to write slanderous verses.

23. paulo minus, *etc.:* Xiphilin, lxiii. 29, gives the exact time as thirteen years and nine months.

25. Iulio Vindice: Xiphilin, lxiii. 22, states that he was descended from a royal family of Gaul, belonging to the senatorial order at Rome, possessed great physical strength, was a fine soldier, and bold enough for any undertaking. He incited the Gauls by telling them the story of Nero's infamy, extravagance, and incapacity. Vindex urged Galba, governor of Spain, to lead the movement, and made terms with Verginius Rufus, who had marched from Germany against him. Vindex slew himself in despair on learning that Verginius' soldiers had fallen upon his followers without orders from their general.

26. pro praetore obtinebat: *i.e.* he was *legatus pro praetore.* See note on p. 20. 16.

Page 132. **1. Τὸ τέχνιον ἡμᾶς διαθρέψει**: *my loved art will support me.*

5. Hierosolymorum: *of Jerusalem.*

7. defunctum se: *that he had passed through.*

8. Delphis: Delphi in Phocis, the site of the most famous temple and oracle of Apollo.

11. Galbae: Nero's successor; *cf.* note on p. 131. 25.

14. pisces eas, *etc.*: Nero probably had in mind the story told by Herodotus. Polycrates of Samos, famous for his prosperity, threw a much valued ring into the sea, in order to experience some misfortune. It was soon recovered, being found in the body of a fish.

17. tamquam occasione, *etc.*: both Xiphilin, lxiii. 26, and Plutarch, *Galba* 5, attribute this intention to Nero. For construction, see Introd. II. § 6, *b* (1).

21. tumultuosioribus litteris: *by a somewhat disquieting letter.*

27. languore faucium: *throat trouble.*

28. adesset: implied indirect discourse.

29. pro Nerone Aenobarbum: *cf.* note on p. 110. 15.

30. nomen gentile: Domitius Aenobarbus.

32. adoptivo: Claudius Nero. **non alio argumento refellebat,** *etc.*: *he would refute with no other argument than this, namely, that he was charged with being ignorant of a branch at which he had faithfully labored and in which he had perfected himself.* This is to say, the absurdity of the charge of his being ignorant of music proved the falsity of the other charges.

Page 133. **5. praetrepidus**: a post-Augustan intensive form of *trepidus.*

11. partem: accusative of duration of time. According to Xiphilin, lxiii. 26, after summoning the most influential of the senatorial and equestrian orders, as if on important business, he made this announcement: "I have discovered a way to secure a fuller and more harmonious tone from the water organ."

12. per organa hydraulica: *examining organs, the bellows of which were worked by water pressure.* These water organs seem to have been in shape similar to oblong chests, surmounted by pipes. For a description and cut, consult Harper's *Classical Dictionary* under *hydraulus.* **circumduxit**: the object is to be supplied from *quosdam* above.

13. de ratione: *about the principle.*

14. prolaturum: *would exhibit.*

15. si per Vindicem, *etc.*: ironical.

16. Galbam et Hispanias descivisse, *etc.*: it was on hearing this news that Plutarch, *Galba* 5, states that Nero overturned in rage

the table at which he was breakfasting. Suetonius (*Nero*, chap. 47. 10) attributes this act to Nero's anger at hearing of the disaffection of the rest of the armies. **Hispanias**: see note on p. 26. 24.

17. animoque male fracto: *his mind terribly shattered.*

19. actum de se: *that it was all up with him.*

20. nutriculae: Introd. II. § 1, *c*. Diminutive of affection.

25. prosperi: partitive genitive.

27. iocularia in defectionis duces: *he recited some witty verses, set to sprightly music, and directed against the leaders of the uprising.*

29. spectaculis . . . inlatus: *i.e.* carried into the auditorium, not upon the stage; for *spectacula*, see note on p. 61. 4.

30. abuti eum occupationibus suis: *that he was taking advantage of the fact that he* (Nero) *was too busy to appear on the stage*, and hence was securing the applause which otherwise Nero would have gained.

Page 134. **1. summittere**: the prefix conveys the idea of stealth.

4. Gallicanorum: the inhabitants of the Roman province of Gallia, in upper Italy. Nero was afraid that these people would favor Vindex and their countrymen across the Alps.

7. senatum . . . necare, *etc.*: so Xiphilin, lxiii. 27, who states that Nero intended to go to Alexandria, and there support himself on the proceeds of his art.

9. defenderentur: *be warded off.* The subject is *ferae*, the thought being that the people occupied with the conflagration could not well protect themselves against the onslaught of the beasts.

11. consules: the consuls for the year 68 A.D.: C. Silius Italicus, the author of the poem on the Punic wars, and M. Galerius Trachalus.

20. epinicia: ἐπινίκια, *songs of victory.*

23. scaenicis organis: probably the water organs mentioned above, which he stated he would exhibit.

25. Amazonicis: *i.e.* such as were worn and carried by the Amazons, a mythical warlike race of women dwelling on the Thermodon River in Asia Minor.

28. dominis . . . indixit: *ordered owners to send a stated number.*

29. dispensatoribus: *stewards.*

32. insularum: see note on p. 25. 29.

Page 135. **1. repraesentare**: see note on p. 88. 26.

2. asperum: *rough to the touch, i.e.* 'newly coined,' and not yet worn smooth. **pustulatum**: *blistered; i.e.* refined.

3. aurum ad obrussam: lit. 'gold subjected to the test'; *i.e.* 'pure.'

4. delatoribus, *etc.*: *that he ought rather to exact from the informers all the bounties which they had been paid*; *cf. Nero*, chap. 32. 13.

6. lucranti: *sc. Neroni.* Nero enriched himself in some way by taking advantage of the high price of grain. *Lucranti* is the conjecture of Oudendorp, for the meaningless *lucrantia* of the manuscripts.

8. pulverem: by this is meant the fine sand from the Nile, used to sprinkle over the arena and on the bodies of the athletes when slippery with perspiration and oil.

11. cirrus appositus est, *etc.*: *curls were placed upon the crown.*

12. nunc demum agona esse, *etc.*: *now there was indeed a contest; let him at length give it up.* Give up what? Possibly the *cirrus* as a sign of effeminacy; possibly the struggle to retain the throne.

13. alterius collo ascopera deligata: *a sack was attached to the neck of another. Ascopera* is the conjecture of Politian for the corrupt *ascopa.* This is the only instance of the dative with *deligare*, the ordinary construction being *ad* with the accusative. Howard, *Harvard Studies in Classical Phil.* Vol. VII., p. 208, conjectures ἀσκὸς *praeligatus.*

14. ego quid potui: *could I help it?* Supposed to be the words of Nero, and answered by the people, *sed tu culleum meruisti*, 'well you have deserved death by the sack,' referring to the death meted out to parricides, for which see note on p. 98. 25.

15. Gallos: a pun on the word *gallus*, 'a cock,' and *Gallus*, 'a Gaul.' Note also that the word *cano*, and presumably its frequentative, *canto*, means 'to crow' as well as 'to sing.'

17. Vindicem: another pun; *Vindex*, the rebel, a proper name, and *vindex*, a legal term meaning 'defender.'

18. somniorum: Suetonius was himself a believer in dreams; *cf.* Pliny, *Epist.* 1. 18.

21. navem sibi, *etc.*: *the helm wrested from him as he was steering a ship.*

24. a simulacris gentium, *etc.*: by the statues representing different nations which had been erected around the theatre of Pompey. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 41, informs us that there were fourteen of these statues.

26. asturconem: a small-sized horse, so called from Asturia, a district of Spain. Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 166, in a difficult passage, gives

a description of the steed's movements, which seems to indicate that it was a pacer.

29. Mausoleo: see note on p. 49. 30. **sponte foribus patefactis**: beside this omen, Xiphilin, lxiii. 26, mentions a rain of blood on the Alban mount, and the fact that the sea flowed away from the coast of Egypt, inundating a large tract of Cilicia.

32. muneri obtulit: for the Roman custom of giving presents on New Year's; *cf.* note on p. 21. 12.

Page 136. **1. Proserpinae raptus**: Proserpina had been carried to the lower regions by Pluto; hence the ill omen. **votorum nuncupatione**: *i.e.* for the safety of the state. The ceremony took place on the 1st of January; that for the safety of the emperor, on January 3d.

3. recitaretur: *i.e.* by Nero's quaestor. See note on p. 114. 27.

5. tu facies: ambiguous. It may mean, 'you will bring this about,' *i.e.* their punishment; or, — and hence the ill omen, — 'you will suffer this,' *i.e. dignum exitum.*

7. Oedipodem: see note on p. 117. 31.

9. θανεῖν μ' ἄνωγε, *etc.*: *wife, father, mother, order me to die.* The line as quoted by Xiphilin, lxiii. 28, is slightly different, "Wife and father order me to die a miserable death."

11. mensam subvertit: see note on p. 133. 16.

12. gratissimi usus: genitive of quality. See Introd. II. § 2, *d.*

13. Homerios a caelatura: *i.e.* scenes taken from the poems of Homer were engraved upon them.

14. Locusta: *cf. Nero*, chap. 33. 11.

15. in hortos Servilianos: *the gardens of Servilius.* These probably lay between the Palatine hill and the *porta Ostiensis.*

20. usque adeone mori miserum est: *Aen.* xii. 646.

22. pro rostris: see note on p. 5. 13.

24. vel Aegypti praefecturam: the most insignificant of the provincial governorships.

29. stationem militum recessisse: *i.e.* from the gardens of Servilius, as would appear from Xiphilin, lxiii. 27.

32. hospitia singulorum adiit: *he sought admittance to the apartments of his intimates, going from one to another.* These friends probably had their apartments in Nero's palace.

Page 137. **3. mirmillonem**: see note on p. 59. 4.

5. nemine reperto: for *nemine*, see note on p. 9. 14, and *cf. respondente nullo*, line 1 above. **ergo ego**, *etc.*: Xiphilin, lxiii. 29,

puts these words in Nero's mouth just before his death, at the time he heard the approaching horsemen, as narrated in *Nero*, chap. 49. 11.

7. **sed revocato**, *etc.*: *checking his violent impulse*; the *re* and *rursus* together are tautological and used for emphasis. Suetonius' power of description is seen to the best advantage in the account of the flight and last moments of Nero. He becomes almost dramatic. His account of Caesar's assassination is also good.

9. **Phaonte**: this freedman is mentioned only in connection with Nero's death.

10. **Salariam et Nomentanam viam**: the *Via Salaria* extended to the northeast from Rome. So named because used by the Sabines for the transportation of salt from the coast. The *Via Nomentana* left Rome by the *porta Collina* and extended to Nomentum.

14. **quattuor solis**: Xiphilin, lxiii. 27, assigns him but three companions, Phaon, Epaphroditus, and Sporus. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* iv. 9. 2, agrees with Suetonius.

15. **Sporus**: a favorite freedman of Nero. **statimque tremore terrae**, *etc.*: Xiphilin, lxiii. 28, says that the earth was rent asunder by this earthquake, and it seemed to Nero as if the souls of those he had slain were issuing therefrom and rushing upon him. **adverso**: *that flashed in his face.*

20. **odore**: the Memm. manuscript has *eodore*, for which Roth reads *ex odore*. Becker would read *odore*, which, moreover, has the authority of one manuscript.

22. **missicio**: *retired.*

23. **per arundineti semitam**: *making his way through a thick growth of reeds.*

24. **aegre nec nisi**, *etc.*: *with difficulty and only after spreading garments*, *etc.*

26. **specum egestae harenae**: *a sand pit.*

29. **ex subiecta lacuna**: *from an adjacent pool.* **poturus**: Introd. II. § 4, *a.*

30. **haec est**, *etc.*: light is thrown on this by Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi. 39, who relates that Nero had his water distilled, and cooled by placing it in a glass vessel in snow.

31. **traiectos surculos rasit**: *brushed off the twigs that had pierced his cloak.* This appears better than the common rendering, 'he crept over boughs spread across his path'; a poetical use of *radere*.

32. **per angustias effossae cavernae**: *through a narrow opening made in the wall.* **proximam cellam**: *i.e.* the first hut, probably a slave's lodging-place, that they came to within the grounds.

Page 138. **1. modica culcita**: *a common mattress.*

4. autem tepidae: Nero could usually drink only water that had been cooled in snow; see note on p. 137. 30.

5. hinc inde: *on every side.*

7. modulum: Introd. II, § 1, *c.* The diminutive probably belongs to colloquial Latin.

12. inter moras: *while he delayed.*

15. nudi hominis, *etc.*: see note on p. 98. 27.

18. condidit: *put them away.*

22 vivo deformiter: Roth gives *vivo deformiter turpiter.** Becker seems justified in regarding *turpiter* as a gloss on *deformiter.* The word is, moreover, omitted in two manuscripts.

23. οὐ πρέπει, *etc.*: *it is not becoming, Nero! It is not becoming. Thou must keep a clear head in such a crisis. Come! arouse thyself!*

27. ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων, *etc.*: *the beat of flying hoofs comes to my ears. Il.* x. 535. Note the swing of the Greek line, imitating the sound of galloping steeds, and *cf.* Vergil's still more celebrated line, *Aen.* viii. 596, *quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.*

28. iugulo: dative. **Epaphrodito a libellis**: *Epaphroditus, his clerk in charge of petitions.* For construction, see note on p. 96. 18.

32. usque ad horrorem, *etc.*: *to such an extent as to cause those who saw it to shudder in horror.*

Page 139. **2. ne potestas**, *etc.*: *that no one be allowed to have his head.*

6. ducentorum milium: *sc. sestertium*, about $10,000. **stragulis albis**, *etc.*: *with the white robes shot with gold, etc.*; ablative of attendant circumstance.

9. Acte: a freedwoman of whom Nero was very fond. **gentili . . . monumento**: *in the family tomb.*

11. colliculo Hortulorum: so named from the many gardens found there. Among these the gardens of Sallust were the most famous. The hill is now known as the Pincian, from a mediæval Roman family of that name. Roth reads *colli hortulorum*; the reading of the text is that of the Gudianus. That this was probably the correct form is made more certain by the fact that twelve manuscripts, among which are some of the best, read *collo.*

12. superstante Lunensi ara: *with an altar of marble of Luna above it.* Luna was a town in Etruria. The white marble found in the vicinity is now known as *Carrara.*

13. lapide Thasio: so named from the island of Thasos, one of the Cyclades.

15. pulchro magis quam venusto: *with handsome, rather than attractive, features.*

18. qui . . . esset: give a concessive force to this characteristic clause.

21. adeo pudendus: *so scandalous.*

22. ut comam semper, *etc.*: *that he always wore his hair long, arranged in tiers of curls, and when travelling in Greece even hanging down behind.* **in gradus formatam**: this refers to that style of dressing the hair often represented in the statues of women. See bust of Julia Domna, Baumeister, *Bilder aus dem g. und r. Altertum*, p. 206; also of Nero, p. 203.

24. synthesinam: *sc. vestem*, the loose gown of colored silk worn at banquets.

29. Seneca praeceptor, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 3, speaks in somewhat contemptuous terms of Seneca's literary taste, *ut fuit illi viro ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.* He remarks that Nero's poetical efforts gave evidence of considerable application.

Page 140. **1. pugillares libellique**: *note books and papers.* Becker regards *-que* as a gloss, and would omit it or the whole word *libellique.*

3. exceptos: *taken down.*

4. exaratos: *produced.* This meaning of the word belongs to colloquial Latin.

9. post scaenicas coronas: *after his victories on the stage.*

10. Olympia: the Olympic games, celebrated every four years at Olympia, a sacred region of Elis; see note on p. 119. 2.

12. brabeutarum: *umpires; brabeuta* is a Greek word; the Latin equivalent is *designator.*

13. paria: *pairs.*

16. Herculis facta: *i.e.* the twelve labors of Hercules.

20. proditurum: *would appear;* from *prodeo.*

21. hydraulam: *as a performer upon the hydraulus;* see note on p. 133. 12. **choraulam**: the *choraules* was a flute player who accompanied the dance.

22. utricularium: *performer on the bagpipe.* **saltaturumque Turnum**: *Turnum* is cognate accusative, *i.e.* he would represent the character of Turnus, king of the Rutuli, killed by Aeneas. *Cf.* Hor. *Serm.* i. 5. 63, *pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat.*

23. Paridem: he was once the property of Domitia, Nero's aunt. Xiphilin, lxiii. 18, says that Nero killed him because he failed to teach Nero to dance.

28. Romam Neropolim, *etc.*: Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 40, says that this was apparently Nero's wish. Xiphilin, lxiii. 7, states that the city of Artaxata was rechristened Neronia by Tiridates as a mark of honor to the Roman emperor. He does not mention Rome in this connection.

31. Deae Syriae: the mother of all nature, identified sometimes with Venus, sometimes with Juno.

Page 141. **1. siquidem imagunculam puellarem**: Roth reads *icunculam* for the meaningless *acunculam* of the manuscripts. Since Latin usage would require the form *icunculum*, while the manuscripts invariably show the feminine ending, it seems best to accept the reading of a fifteenth-century manuscript, *imagunculam*.

3. confestim: *i.e.* immediately after receiving the image.

6. ante paucos quam periret menses: Introd. II. § 3, *b* (1).

8. obiit, *etc.*: Nero died June 7, 68 A.D. Xiphilin, lxiii. 29, gives his exact age as thirty-three years nine months.

10. pilleata: as a sign of having been freed; *cf.* note on p. 4. 7.

15. magno . . . malo: for construction, see note on p. 109. 13. Tacitus, *Hist.* II. 8, mentions disturbances in Achaia and Asia, caused by the belief that Nero was alive and would appear.

16. Vologesus: Vologesus I, the Parthian king defeated by Corbulo, the Roman general. He finally agreed to peace on condition that the throne of Armenia be given his brother Tiridates by the Romans.

22. vix redditus sit: *i.e.* the Parthians were reluctant to deliver him up to the Romans as an impostor.

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